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THE GENRE OF ACTS AND COLLECTED BIOGRAPHY

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The thesis is entirely my own work and no portion of it represents work done in collaboration with others. Neither has the dissertation been submitted for any other degree or qualification.

Sean A. Adams

ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that the best genre parallel for the Acts of the Apostles is collected biography. This conclusion is reached through an application of ancient and modern genre theory and a detailed comparison of Acts and collected biographies.

Chapter 1 offers prolegomena to this study and further delineates the contours of the thesis. Chapter 2 provides an extensive history of research, not only to provide the context and rationale for the present work, but also to indicate some of the shortcomings of previous investigations and the need for this present study. Chapter 3 presents the methodological perspective for this exploration. Making use of ancient and modern genre theory, I propose that scholars need to understand genre as a dynamic and flexible system that is culturally influenced and highly adaptable. In Chapter 4 I trace the diachronic development of ancient biographies, describe different sub-divisions, and note the strong, enduring relationship between biography and history. In evaluating the development of biography as a whole, there appears to be a distinct preference by ancient biographers for collected biographies.

Chapters 5 to 7 interpret Acts in light of its possible relationship with collected biographies. Chapter 5 provides a detailed comparison of the structural and content features of history, novels, collected biographies, and Acts. Overall, this chapter argues that the structural and content features of Acts are most strongly related to the genre of biography and, secondarily, to history. Chapters six and seven evaluate Acts as a modified collected biography, identifying notable similarities in content features, structure, and endings. Chapter 8 summarizes and concludes the thesis, along with a brief mention of avenues for future research.

Related literary investigations, such as a list of literary *topoi* references in biographies, biographies referenced by Diogenes Laertius, and a full discussion of biography's adaptability in the first century (modelled by Plutarch and Philo), are treated in appendices.

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ABBREVIATIONS

In addition to the following, all abbreviations in this thesis are taken from: Patrick H. Alexander, et al., *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999).

| | |
|----------|--|
| APA | American Philological Association |
| APAM | American Philological Association Monograph |
| CCSA | Corpus Christianorum: Series Apocryphorum |
| CHSC | Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia |
| CL | Collection Latomus |
| CLL | Classical Life and Letters |
| CR | <i>Classical Review</i> |
| ECF | The Early Church Fathers |
| GAP | Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha |
| HE | Historia-Einzelschriften |
| IBT | Interpreting Biblical Texts |
| ICS | <i>Illinois Classical Studies</i> |
| JBS | Jerusalem Biblical Studies |
| JGRChJ | <i>Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism</i> |
| JHS | <i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i> |
| JSPL | <i>Journal for the Study of Paul and his Letters</i> |
| LSCP | London Studies in Classical Philology |
| MS | Mnemosyne Supplement |
| OTM | Oxford Theological Monographs |
| PA | Philosophia Antiqua |
| PBM | Paternoster Biblical Monographs |
| PP | <i>La Parola del Passato</i> |
| PPFBRHUJ | Publications of the Perry Foundation for Biblical Research, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem |
| SAAA | Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles |
| SAM | Studies in Ancient Medicine |
| SH | Studia Hellenistica |
| TANZ | Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter |
| TCH | The Transformation of the Classical Heritage |
| TTH | Translated Texts for Historians |
| WGRW | Writings from the Greco-Roman World |
| YCGL | <i>Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature</i> |

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

One of the major issues within current Acts scholarship is the question of the genre of Luke-Acts. Despite a number of recent attempts at categorisation, a critical consensus has yet to be reached. This work will attempt to contribute to the debate through a study of modern genre theory and an investigation of ancient collected biographies.

Why Is Genre Important?

The underlying premise of this investigation is that determining the genre of a work is fundamentally important for interpretation. One of the primary ways to understand the function of genre is that it acts as a “code of social behavior,”¹ with the selection of a genre being an act of communication by the author to the reader. The author is identifying the rules of the code, which not only affect how an author writes, but also how the author asks the reader to approach the text.² This “generic contract,” enacted through structural and content features, informs the reader that the author will follow some of the patterns and conventions associated with the genre(s) selected and that the reader in turn should pay close attention to particular aspects of the work that are characteristically important to that genre type.³ As stated by T. Todorov, “It is because genres exist as an institution that they function as ‘horizons of expectation’ for readers and as ‘models of writing’ for authors.”⁴ Although the reader is not obligated to follow the author’s intention, the expectation of the author is embedded in the genre contract.⁵

¹ E.D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1967), 93.

² Heather Dubrow, *Genre* (The Critical Idiom 42; Methuen: London, 1982), 31. “Genre is a conceptual orienting device that suggests to the hearer the sort of receptorial conditions in which a fictive discourse might have been delivered.” Mary Depew and Dirk Obbink, “Introduction,” in Mary Depew and Dirk Obbink (eds.), *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Societies* (Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia 4; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 1-14, 6.

³ Dubrow, *Genre*, 31; F. Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), 106. With this being said, it is possible that the author may wish to deceive the reader and fool him or her into thinking that the work is of an alternate genre. However, this is not common for ancient texts and so will not be further discussed in this work.

⁴ T. Todorov, “The Origin of Genres,” in D. Duff (ed.), *Modern Genre Theory* (LCR; New York: Longman, 2000), 193-209, 199.

⁵ For other views of genre, see chapter three.

As a result, a scholar's or reader's genre assumption frames their reading of a text and ultimately their interpretation. For a modern example, if a writer composes a work of irony (e.g., Joseph Heller's *Catch-22*), but the reader fails to recognise this fact and rather interprets the work as non-fiction, it is easy to see how the reader will miss the author's intention. In *Catch-22* Yossarian's problematic situation regarding flight duty is used to justify military bureaucracy in the novel; however, if (properly) understood from an ironic perspective the situation completely undermines the established process and becomes a challenge to traditional procedures. Another illustration, if the genre work of fantasy, say *The Lord of the Rings* or *Harry Potter*, is not recognized as fictitious there will likely be a number of people with a confused outlook on the world.

Taking an example from ancient texts, in ancient Greco-Roman culture there were a number of genre similarities between history and biography. If one were to misinterpret a biography as history, it is likely that the interpretation would not be too far off. However, the interpreter would miss a number of the subtleties within the text. Furthermore, the authorial emphasis in the work would be twisted and lost to the reader. Ps.-Herodotus' *Vita Homeri* or other *Lives of the Poets* provide a good example of this. Here the main focus of the work is to entertain, rather than provide historical details of the poet's life and relationships, most of which are legendary or taken from the poet's literary works (e.g., such as the dating of Homer's birth, *Vita Homeri* 38).⁶ Interpreting the work as history misses the authorial intention and risks adopting historically inaccurate information.⁷

If one of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* was taken as a history there would be less issue in terms of historical veracity than with Ps.-Herodotus' *Vita Homeri*. However, the primary goal of Plutarch's *Lives*, which is to enact change within the reader, would be overshadowed by the reader's search for historical factoids. That a reader can only take historical tidbits from the text without acknowledging the goal of the work is clear. However, for a proper understanding of the historical nugget it is beneficial for the extractor to know how the author was shaping the material. For example, an

⁶ M.R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (CLL; London: Duckworth, 1981), viii.

⁷ A modern example is recounted by D. Allison, who, in his discussion of the importance of genre, tells how he mistakenly thought that *Mark of the Taw* was a work of history rather than of historical fiction. D. Allison, *Constructing Jesus: Memory, Imagination, and History* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010), 441-42.

action that was positively interpreted in the *Life* may be re-considered negatively in the *synkrisis*. Pericles in his *Life* is praised by Plutarch for his building projects on the Acropolis (*Per.* 12.1-13.13); however, this same building programme is denigrated in the *synkrisis* when compared to the real work of a statesman, that of virtue (*Comp. Per. Fab.* 2.1). Therefore, in order to understand the importance of the historical fact one must understand its context and that is best gained by a thorough investigation of genre.

One's understanding of genre is insufficient, however, insofar as it fails to take into account temporal and cultural dislocation. If a modern reader reads an ancient biography with modern biography genre expectations, it is likely that the reader's interpretation will do damage to the original message. Accordingly, understanding ancient genres is central to any understanding of ancient literature. Both modern and ancient genres have specific structural and content features that are derived from their respective culture(s). These features are culturally conditioned and function differently from culture to culture. Moreover, genre formalises cultural conventions of written communication and guides the production and interpretation of written texts. The prerequisite for written communication to take place, however, is a social context guiding the production and interpretation of written texts, not necessarily pre-existent genre categories.⁸

Developing a proper knowledge of ancient genres, moreover, is important because it influences judgments of quality and interpretation.⁹ When modern readers try to appreciate ancient Greco-Roman literature, a particular work may (wrongly) seem deficient because the rules and expectations held by the original readers and authors are not understood. As a result, it is important to define accurately ancient genres in ways that the original readers from the culture would have recognized. If modern readers are to understand an ancient work they must understand the genre expectations the original readers had when they approached the text. This is because our response to genres is deeply conditioned by our modern social constructs and

⁸ C.N. Mount, *Pauline Christianity: Luke-Acts and the Legacy of Paul* (SupNovT 104; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 67-69.

⁹ A good example of this would be modern scholars' evaluation of Horace's *Ars Poetica*. Although this work has been treated and evaluated as a treatise, it is clear through its structure and address that it is a letter written to the Pisos. Accordingly, some of the criticisms of the work are invalid as they are expectations imposed from a different genre category. H.R. Fairclough, *Horace: Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica* (Loeb; London: William Heinemann, 1929), 442.

frames the way we approach and respond to a text. This view of genre dictates that it is a fundamental and preliminary component of interpretation and needs to be considered when approaching a text.

A classic example from biblical studies of those who did not take this perspective into account would be the form-critical view of the gospels as a discrete collection of parables exemplified by Dibelius and Bultmann.¹⁰ In this approach the individual sayings and parables are excised from the larger work in order to discover the most primitive Christian tradition by tracing its development through the careful study of its literary forms. Accordingly, Dibelius classified the gospel narratives into “pure” and “less pure” paradigms¹¹ and focused on tales and legends, “religious narratives of a saintly [person] in whose works and fate interest is taken.”¹² Unfortunately, by dividing the text so discretely in an attempt to get behind the text to its source, the value of the literary whole and the role of the author in the creation process are neglected. This fails to appreciate the genre of the work and misses the overall thrust of the book, which is the presentation of Jesus, his message, and an emphasis on his person as seen through the eyes of its author.¹³

A genre-sensitive approach rightly takes a holistic perspective and focuses on the role of artistic intention, purpose, etc. Accordingly, literary approaches, building on the findings of redaction criticism, have been able to make insightful comments on the nature of the gospels and the role of the author/redactor as a creative and culturally-conditioned writer. Scholars such as Talbert, Shuler, and Burridge have made important advances by identifying the formal parallels between the gospels and Greco-Roman biographies and note the cumulative effect of the developed narrative

¹⁰ M. Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangelium* (3rd ed., Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1919); R. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1921).

¹¹ “Less pure” paradigms are those “intermediate forms” (*Mischformen*) that exhibit traits common to two or more categories. M. Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* (2nd ed.; trans. Bertram L. Woolf; London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1934), 57–59. Pure: Mark 2:1ff.; 2:18ff.; 2:23ff. 3:1ff. Less pure: Mark 1:23ff.; 2:13ff.; 6:1ff.; 10:17ff.

¹² Dibelius, *Tradition to Gospel*, 104.

¹³ E.P. Sanders, *The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); W.G. Doty, “Fundamental Questions about Literary-Critical Methodology: A Review Articles,” *JAAR* 40 (1972): 521-27.

and how its overall structure provides interpretive parameters for understanding a parable in context.¹⁴

The need to identify the genre of Acts has become apparent in the last few decades, as is demonstrated by the proliferation of genre ascriptions (see chapter two). The genre label applied to Acts fundamentally influences the interpretation of passages, scenes, and the work as a whole. For example, labelling Acts an apology makes a statement regarding the intended audience (to outsiders), authorial motivation (to influence how outsiders view the Christian community), and character presentation (favourable and in the best light). Calling Acts an epic speaks to the intention of the work (that it is presenting a founding narrative of a group), while labelling Acts a biography indicates the author's focus on the individuals within the narrative. Chapter five in this study compares Acts to Greco-Roman genres, whereas chapters six and seven apply the biography perspective to specific passages.

Preliminary Issues

Before I outline the approach and structure of this study there are some preliminary issues that need to be addressed. Though these topics have each been the focus of full scholarly investigations, they will only be outlined here to facilitate the interpretation of my thesis. I will not attempt to enter into the debates. Rather, I will identify the views that I will take as my premises for this work.

Authorship of Luke and Acts

Traditionally, the authorship of the Gospel of Luke and Acts of the Apostles has been attributed to Luke. This can be seen in the testimony of early ecclesiastical writers, who provide a uniform picture of Lukan authorship for both Luke and Acts.¹⁵ Of

¹⁴ P. Shuler, *A Genre for the Gospels: The Biographical Character of Matthew* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982); C.H. Talbert, *What is a Gospel?* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977); R.A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?: A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

¹⁵ E.g., Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.12.82.4; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 1.5.3; 2.8.2; 2.11.1; 2.22.1, 6; 3.4.1, 4, 7-8; 3.31.5; Irenaeus *Haer.* 3.12.11; 3.13.3; 3.14.3, 4; 3.15.1; Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* 7; Origen, *Fr. Heb.* 14.1309; *Sel. Ps.* 12.1632; Muratorian Canon: Luke (ll. 2-8) and Acts (ll. 34-39); *Suda* Λ 682; Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.2.4;

particular importance to the church fathers for this determination was Luke's relationship with Paul, primarily drawn from Phlm 24; Col 4:14; 2 Tim 4:11.¹⁶ Take, for example, Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 3.4.7–8, who provides an introduction to Luke the writer, his works, and also his relationship with Paul:

But Luke who was of Antiochian parentage and a physician by profession, and who was especially intimate with Paul and well acquainted with the rest of the apostles, has left us, in two inspired books, proofs of that spiritual healing art which he learned from them. One of these books is the Gospel, which he testifies that he wrote as those who were from the beginning eye witnesses and ministers of the word delivered unto him, all of whom, as he says, he followed accurately from the first. The other book is the Acts of the Apostles, which he composed not from the accounts of others, but from what he had seen himself. And they say that Paul meant to refer to Luke's Gospel wherever, as if speaking of some gospel of his own, he used the words, "according to my Gospel."¹⁷

This authorial unity of Luke and Acts continues to be the dominant view among scholars.¹⁸ The most recent scholar to challenge this perspective is Patricia Walters, who, in her book *The Assumed Authorial Unity of Luke and Acts*, attempts to apply a new methodology by statistically evaluating the prose compositional styles of the

For an excellent discussion regarding the evidence for or against early Christian authors' knowledge of Acts, particularly the traces of a knowledge of Acts that are found in the Apostolic Fathers, the *Epistula Apostolorum*, and Justin, see C.K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Acts* (ICC; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 1.30-48; H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles* (trans. J. Limburg; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963), xxvii-xxxiii. For a few ancient and medieval conjectures that Barnabas or Clement of Rome wrote Acts, see Theodor Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament* (trans. M.W. Jacobus; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1909), 3.3 n.1. See also the "Anti-Marcionite Prologues" found in a number of early Latin Bible manuscripts from about the 4th century.

Considering second century Christian writers, D.L. Bock, (*Acts* [BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2008], 16), states, "Justin Martyr in *Dial.* 103.19 speaks of Luke as a companion to Paul." This, however, is erroneous, as Justin Martyr does not mention Luke or Paul by name in the entirety of his *Dialogues*.

¹⁶ E.g., Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.2.4. For a thorough discussion, see Mount, *Pauline Christianity*, 11-44.

¹⁷ Translation from A.C. McGiffert, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (eds. P. Schaff and H. Wace; Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing, 1890).

¹⁸ For some challenges, see F.C. Baur, *Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ: His Life and Work, His Epistles and His Doctrine* (trans. Eduard Zeller; London: Williams and Norgate, 1873), 1.12-13; A.W. Argyle, "The Greek of Luke and Acts," *NTS* 20 (1974): 441-45.

H.J. Cadbury summed this perspective up well when he stated, "Among all the problems of New Testament authorship no answer is so universally agreed upon as is the common authorship of these two volumes," H.J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (2nd ed.; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1958), 8. Alexander comments, "There is of course no question about the single authorship of the two texts," Alexander, *Preface*, 145.

authorial seams and summaries of Luke and Acts.¹⁹ Making use of Aristotle, Ps.-Demetrius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Ps.-Longinus, Walters proposes that the three key aspects of prose composition (euphony, rhythm, sentence structure), indicated by syntax and word selection, provide access to the authorial compositional techniques of Luke and Acts.²⁰ In applying statistical analysis to these syntactic elements Walters finds “highly significant” results, which she believes challenge the authorial unity of Luke and Acts.²¹

Although Walters does make some positive contributions through reference to ancient grammarians and a cross-disciplinary approach, there are a number of issues that weaken her conclusions. First, there is the issue of which passages are used, particularly the sample size of the Acts database. On the whole this sample is too small and, furthermore, the preface (Acts 1:1-5) comprises nearly half of it. While her position is somewhat understandable when attempting to ascertain the authorial passages in Acts, it might be that this is too small a pool for adequate results.

Second, there are issues regarding what counts as evidence and how the evidence is handled. Walters is aware of modern scholarship’s inability to determine some ancient prose syllable divisions. This, however, is compounded by ancient sources which are vague or outright disagree about the nature and definition of particular literary features. As a result, there is no agreed methodological approach and Walters is forced to choose which definition/evaluative method she is going to use. Third, Walters is forced to set aside a large amount of evidence because there is insufficient data to make statistically significant chi-square calculations. Accordingly, Walters omits nine of thirteen dissonance combinations, with all but two of them being separated by only one instance.²² Overall, though Walter’s

¹⁹ P. Walters, *The Assumed Authorial Unity of Luke and Acts: A Reassessment of the Evidence* (SNTSMS 145; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 72-73, 87-88. Luke: 1:1-4, 80; 2:40, 52; 3:1-3, 18; 4:14-15, 31-32, 40-41, 44; 5:15-16, 17; 6:17-19; 7:11; 8:1-3, 4a; 9:51; 10:38a; 13:22; 14:25a; 17:11; 18:35a; 19:28, 47-48; 21:37-38; Acts: 1:1-5, 14; 2:41, 42-47; 4:4, 32-35; 5:12-16; 6:1a, 7; 7:58b; 8:1b-c, 25; 9:31; 11:21, 24b; 12:24, 25; 16:5; 19:20.

²⁰ While these are notable aspects of composition (if one had been trained in formal composition), it is questionable whether these three items, with the elimination of *all* other criteria, are sufficient to substantiate her claims.

²¹ Walters, *Assumed Authorial Unity*, 186. “Highly significant” results for: hiatus, dissonance, long syllables in long sequences, clause/sentence segues, and “significant” results for final syntax.

²² See figures 4.9 and 4.10 in Walters, *Assumed Authorial Unity*, 162-63. In determining the number of dissonances within Luke and Acts, five out of the thirteen categories (γκ, κδ, λκ, νξ, and σξ) have

statistical findings suggest that there is reason to doubt the scholarly consensus, methodological issues undermine confidence in her findings and, as a result, her work is not convincing.²³ Accordingly, I will use “Luke” to represent the author of both Luke and Acts.

Unity of Luke-Acts

Although authorial unity does affect one’s view of literary unity, it is a mistake to equate the two.²⁴ Despite some recent attempts by scholars to question the generic and literary unity of Luke-Acts,²⁵ many scholars still regard these two works as intricately linked. Although the conclusions of the present thesis provide further material for this discussion, this study does not interact with this debate, nor is its conclusions heavily dependant on the question of unity. Rather this thesis will focus primarily on the text and genre of Acts. The issue of literary unity, however, is a

no instances for both Luke and Acts, while two others have very similar results (υθ: Luke = 1 and Acts = 1; υχ: Luke = 1 and Acts = 2). These findings suggest similar authorial use.

When discussion vowel pairings, Walters fails to consider how proper names would skew her findings. Of particular importance would be occurrences of Jesus (ὁ Ἰησοῦς), which would automatically create two occurrences, in addition to the list of names in Luke 3:1.

²³ For a more thorough discussion of Waters’ work see my forthcoming review in *European Journal of Theology*.

²⁴ C.K. Rowe, “History, Hermeneutics, and the Unity of Luke-Acts,” in A.F. Gregory and C.K. Rowe (eds.), *Rethinking the Unity and Reception of Luke and Acts* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010), 43-65, 45.

²⁵ Although a number of scholars do see a strong relationship between Luke and Acts, one of the more recent works that provides a systematic challenge to this is M.C. Parsons and R.I. Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993). For an overview of the question of unity since Parsons and Pervo, see M.F. Bird, “The Unity of Luke-Acts in Recent Discussion,” *JSNT* 29 (2007): 425-48. For a recent overview on the issue of Luke-Acts unity with a clear positive perspective, see J. Verheyden, “The Unity of Luke-Acts,” in J. Verheyden (ed.), *The Unity of Luke-Acts* (BETL 142; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 3-56.

One of the challenges to understanding Luke and Acts as a unit is that there is very little textual evidence that they ever circulated together. See A. Gregory, “The Reception of Luke and Acts and the Unity of Luke-Acts,” *JSNT* 29 (2007): 459-72; C.K. Rowe, “Literary Unity and Reception History: Reading Luke-Acts as Luke and Acts,” *JSNT* 29 (2007): 449-57. While F.F. Bruce states, “Originally, no doubt, these two volumes circulated together as one complete and independent work, but not for long,” this view goes beyond the evidence available (F.F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977], 15). Barrett (*Acts*, 33) has suggested that the Cheltenham (or Mommsenian) List, which places Luke as the fourth gospel, “might bear witness to a time when the two books, Luke and Acts, were not separated.” Although this is attractive, it is unfortunate that the gospels and Acts are separated here by the Pauline epistles and so lack that pertinent connection. Citing Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 7.70.2, Sterling suggests that Luke and Acts were a unit, but just published separately, G.E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (NovTSup 65; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 338.

growing area of research and will be an important question for Luke-Acts studies in coming decades.²⁶

Nevertheless, this thesis does interact occasionally with the Lukan narrative due to the explicit referencing of a “former work” (πρῶτον λόγον) in Acts 1:1. These opening words direct the reader’s attention to (presumably) Luke and serve as a note to the reader that the narrative of Acts is building on a pre-existing foundation. That the dominant view of Luke is that it is a biography (see below) dovetails nicely with the conclusions of this thesis and some comments regarding literary unity will be given in chapter eight at the conclusion of this investigation.

Collected Biographies

In addition to using “Luke” to represent the author of Luke-Acts, there is another term that I need to define: “collected biographies,” which will be used throughout this work to refer to one biographical work that focuses on multiple human subjects. Although the term “collected biography” can be used synonymously, I prefer “collected biographies” as it emphasises the fact that there are multiple, sometimes discreet, biographies contained in one unified work.

The Text of Acts

In recent decades there has been increased sensitivity to the concept and nature of textual traditions and their effect on the interpretation of a work.²⁷ Still, within scholarship as a whole the standard text for New Testament study is NA²⁷/UBS⁴. For convenience all New Testament Greek citations will be taken from NA²⁷, and this text will form the foundation for my study. Notable textual issues will be taken up in the footnotes.²⁸

²⁶ In a recently published volume, Rowe and Gregory have collected a number of essays on this topic, some of which attempt to provide programmatic advice for future investigations. Gregory and Rowe (eds.), *Rethinking the Unity and Reception of Luke and Acts*.

²⁷ For example, see J. Rius-Camps and J. Read-Heimerdinger, *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae*, 4 vols. (LNTS; London: T&T Clark, 2004-2009); D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

²⁸ For discussion of the importance of codex Bezae for an alternate interpretation/text of Acts and an insight into its community, see D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text*

The Genre of Luke's Gospel

Another assumption that influences this study is the dominant scholarly position that the Gospel of Luke is a biography. Although this view has not always been dominant, since Richard Burridge's proposal in *What Are the Gospels?*, this position is now widely held.²⁹ In his study, Burridge compares the gospels' formal features with those of a diverse selection of Greco-Roman biographies and concludes that the focus on the person of Jesus as well as a number of biographical features comfortably situates the gospels within the biography genre.³⁰

There are, however, some who disagree with this position, suggesting that Luke(-Acts) is best understood as a type of Hellenistic history.³¹ This emphasis, often supported by a discussion of the prefaces (Luke 1:1-4; Acts 1:1), proposes understanding Luke's method and purpose in relation to Greek history writers (notably, Thucydides, Herodotus, Polybius, etc.).³² The proponents argue that Luke's appropriation of historiographical conventions (acknowledgement and use of sources, creation of speeches, preface, etc.) indicates that the work he was attempting to create is, therefore, associated with that genre. That these features are not limited to the genre of history, however, will be shown throughout this work, especially in chapter five. Rather, as there is a strong generic relationship between history and biography, there is significant overlap in textual features.

In discussing the genre of Acts, particularly the claim that it is biography not history, I do not wish to imply that this study investigates the historical *veracity* of the content of Acts. My claim that the genre of Acts is not history, but is rather collected biography, has no bearing on the historical accuracy of the texts' content. In the ancient world both of these prose genres could offer a spectrum of

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); J. Rius-Camps and J. Read-Heimerdinger, *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae*, 4 vols. (LNTS; London: T&T Clark, 2004-2009).

²⁹ Burridge's *What Are the Gospels?* was first published in 1992.

³⁰ Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 247-51.

³¹ J.B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 2-6; D.E. Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment* (LEC 8; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1987), 77; J.T. Squires, *The Plan of God in Luke-Acts* (SNTSMS 76; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 20-23; C.K. Rothschild, *Luke-Acts and the Rhetoric of History* (WUNT 2.175; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

³² Squires, *Plan of God*, 20.

verisimilitude ranging from predominately accurate to largely fictitious. As a result, a genre classification by itself does not support or deny historical accuracy.

Dates

The final preliminary issues to address are the study's temporal scope and the dating of Luke and Acts. First, this work will primarily focus on the Hellenistic era and the Early Empire, roughly 300 BC–AD 300.³³ One of the challenges to the investigation of literature in the Hellenistic era is the lack of complete extant works, particularly in the genre of biography. There are numerous fragments and citations of this genre; however, there are very few complete biographical works, particularly prior to the first century AD.

To compensate for this, I will include biographical works from a few centuries before and after Acts, as well as from the later Roman Empire in order to provide a reasonable trajectory for the genre's development. Though I recognise that this approach has some potential pitfalls, most notably anachronistic projects of later features onto first-century biographies, the current state of literature in this time period leaves few alternatives. Accordingly, I will try to make full use of the evidence currently available to provide, cautiously, a picture of biography and its development in relationship to the genre of history.

The second chronological issue for this study is the dating of Luke and Acts. The dominant view is that Luke and Acts were written between AD 80 and AD 90.³⁴ The *terminus a quo* is, according to Markan priority, the writing and publication of Mark's gospel, whereas the *terminus ante quem* is based on, among other criteria, the collection of the Paul's letters into a corpus, of which Luke does not betray awareness.³⁵

³³ Swain discusses major changes in Roman Empire at the end of the third century AD that support this delineation. S. Swain, "Biography and Biographic in the Literature of the Roman Empire," in M.J. Edwards and S. Swain (eds.), *Portraits: Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 1-37, 3, 6.

³⁴ For an excellent outline of the dating of Acts by scholars, see R.I. Pervo, *Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists* (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 2007), 359-63.

³⁵ Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 329-30.

There are, however, a few scholars who have recently asserted a late date for Acts.³⁶ Most recently, R.I. Pervo has suggested that Acts was written ca. AD 115 by an anonymous author with an “Ephesian” perspective.³⁷ Pervo comes to this conclusion by considering the cumulative evidence of Acts’ ecclesiastical structure and function, its view of church and society, its theology, and its identification and depiction of “the other.”³⁸ Similarly, J.B. Tyson has also suggested a late dating for Acts (AD 120-25), arguing that “Luke” is responding to Marcion and Marcionite Christianity.³⁹

Though this is an important issue for Acts, an exact dating is not foundational for this study. In this study I will presuppose a dating around AD 80-90, although a later dating would not undermine the veracity of my findings.

Chapter Overview

Having outlined the introductory issues to this study, I will now provide a chapter outline in order to sketch the overall flow of my argument. First, chapter two maps out the current state of scholarship on the genre of Acts and provides a description of key works by scholars who have made a significant contribution to this debate. Beginning with the dominant view that Acts is a history, I will first discuss some of the scholars who hold this position, tracing its development from H.J. Cadbury. Following this, I will discuss four major subgenre branches of the historiographic perspective that have recently developed (general [universal] history, deuteronomistic history, political history and apologetic history), and their key proponents. The remainder of the chapter will focus on major challenges to this established position of viewing Acts as history. Theories of Acts as novel, epic, and biography will be discussed, with an introduction to the major supporters of these views, some critiques, and tangential works they have inspired. The chapter concludes by highlighting the surprising lack of a monograph-length study on Acts as biography.

³⁶ Most of the proponents who advocate a later dating of Acts separate it from Luke.

³⁷ R.I. Pervo, *Acts* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), 5; Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 343.

³⁸ Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 343-46.

³⁹ Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts*, 78.

Chapter three looks at genre theory, modern and ancient. This chapter begins with a discussion of how the ancients understood and described genre and explores the nature of ancient genres and their hierarchical relationships. In addition, the ancients' view of genre mixing and development will be evaluated with a focus, not only on the prescriptive statements made by ancient theorists, but also on how these theories were enacted by ancient authors. Following this, the chapter looks at modern genre theory and how it can provide insight into ancient literary culture. This will include an investigation of genre evolution and how changes in power relations influence genres and the writers who make use of them. Finally, this chapter concludes by discussing the way genre will be used for the remainder of this study.

This understanding is applied to the development of biography in chapter four, which provides a number of initial observations for understanding the literary milieu of the centuries surrounding Acts. Genres in general and biography specifically have a large amount of functional flexibility which allows them to be utilized in a number of ways in order to meet the literary needs of both author and audience. That biographies were used diversely (from encomium to collections to moralistic modeling) indicates that their functionality made them ideal candidates for ingenuity. Biographical narratives vary in relationship to the specific functions they assume in particular historical contexts and in different literary environments. Although at particular times certain types of biographies were preferred, the variety of biographical forms and their chronological overlap indicate that there was room for generic experimentation and authorial preference. This chapter continues by investigating the strong relationship between history and biography before, during, and after the Hellenistic period. These connections, moreover, suggest that within these centuries, history-writings might have exerted influence on biography, although to varying degrees at different times and with different authors. Finally, looking at the extant biographies from these centuries, it appears that the ancients had a preference for collected biographies over individual biographies.

Chapter five provides a detailed comparison of the formal (external and internal) features of collected biographies and Acts. Here I identify and discuss the features that contribute to identifying a work as a collected biography. Beginning with

opening features (title, preface) this chapter also evaluates the subjects of biography and the allocation of space within the work, external features (mode, metre, size, scale and scope), and internal features (setting, topics, style, characterisation, and social setting). Overall, this chapter asserts that the structural and content features of Acts are strongly related to the genre of biography and, secondarily, to history.

It is in light of these structural and content feature similarities that chapters seven and eight evaluate Acts as a modified collected biography. In chapter seven, I focus on the disciples, apostles, and believers who are members of the Way, seeking to understand Luke's focus on a movement's adherents and the advancement of its message in terms of the foci of succession and group delineation prominent in collected biographies. I investigate how Luke delineates Jesus' followers, most notably through disciple lists and successive portrayals, and how these practices are akin to those found throughout the collected biography tradition. In tandem with this is the question of how Luke delineates the relationship between Jesus and the disciples. Evaluating the preface and narrative body of Acts, this chapter considers how Luke indicates that the deeds and actions of the disciples should be understood as a continuation of Jesus' ministry originally developed in the Gospel of Luke. Similarly, I will investigate the relationship between the message of the "kingdom of God," and the identification of characters as "true" disciples. Furthermore, focusing on the role of the disciples, this chapter considers Luke's delineation of in-group and out-group members through their interactions with Peter and Paul.

Chapter seven focuses on Luke's allocation of large narrative sections to his two key Christian members: Peter and Paul. The first section seeks to discern Luke's emphasis on the church's prominent adherents and the corresponding advancement of its gospel in light of other collected biographies. Similarly, reflecting the values of collected biographies, I will show how these key followers, as well as other disciples, present a pattern for imitation for the early readers and Christian community and model how an ideal Christian should act and teach. Finally, I provide a fresh approach to the apparently problematic ending of Acts by interpreting it in light of collected biographies. This perspective offers a reading of the text that not only understands the existing ending as an intentional composition by the author, but also provides a solution to some of the major interpretive issues. The shift away

from Paul to refocus on the preaching of the kingdom of God reminds the reader that it is the preaching of the message and a disciple's faithful adherence to and proclamation of that message that is ultimately important, not the disciple himself.

Significance of this Study

Finally, I wish to highlight some of the potential contributions that this study has for New Testament scholarship. First is its fluid and flexible perspective on genre. More than just a collection of formal features, this study shows that genres are to be understood in light of their cultural context and relationships to other genres. Moreover, genres form a dynamic system and whose boundaries are constantly in flux. This flexible and malleable understanding of genre provides a strong warning to biblical scholars and classicists who might be tempted to apply rigid generic definitions. Furthermore, this study models a more nuanced view of how culture affects the development of literature.

The second contribution is an outline of the development of biography and its sub-genres, particularly that of collected biographies. This investigation indicates that there was a strong and enduring relationship between history and biography in which the former exerted significant influence on the development of the latter. Understanding this relationship sharpens literary interpretations and has the potential to provide fresh insight into how prose genres interacted in the Hellenistic and Roman eras. Furthermore, in evaluating the development of biography as a whole, there appears to be a distinct emphasis on collected biography.⁴⁰

Third, this study demonstrates that Acts is best understood as a biography and that there are many interpretive payoffs for reading Acts as a collected biography. First, Acts has a clear focus on the disciples, believers, and the advancement of the Christian message and consistently delineates in-group and out-group members, particularly through their interaction with either Peter or Paul. This focus on Jesus' disciples in Acts shapes our reading of the text and dictates that all future

⁴⁰ Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 61. Similarly Geiger states, "Greek biographical writing was concerned with series of Lives of men: not with the personality in its individual apartness, but in the typical and characteristic for a whole category of men." J. Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos and Ancient Political Biography* (HE 47; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1985), 79.

interpretations of Acts need to understand the fundamental nature of Luke's presentation of Christian characters. Next, interpreting the ending of Acts in light of the collected biographies provides a reading of the text that not only understands the existing ending as an intentional composition by the author, but also explains why Luke did not recount Paul's trial and death. The shift away from Paul to the preaching of the kingdom of God reinforces the thrust of collected, philosophical biographies that a disciple is only as important as his faithful adherence to and proclamation of his master's teaching. Therefore, Paul's death is not important to the structure of the work and so was not included in Acts.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON THE GENRE OF ACTS

There have been many attempts to understand the literary nature and genre of the Acts of the Apostles, both as a separate work and as part of the larger work of Luke-Acts.¹ Over the past century, scholarly consensus has rested on the idea that Acts should be understood in light of the Greco-Roman tradition of history writing. In the past thirty years, however, this view has been challenged with scholars interpreting Acts as part of different literary traditions. These theories have forced Lukan scholarship to reconsider its assignment of Acts to general history with the result that there is a growing trend of labelling Acts as one of many history subgenres.

This chapter maps the current state of scholarship for Acts genre studies and provides a brief description and assessment of the major works that have made a significant contribution to the debate. Beginning with the dominant view that Acts is history, I will discuss some of the scholars who hold this position, tracing its development from H.J. Cadbury. Next, I will outline four of the major historiographic subgenres that have recently been proposed for Acts—general (universal) history, deuteronomistic history, political history and apologetic history—along with their major proponents. Subsequent to the discussion of Acts as history, the remainder of the chapter will focus on major alternate positions. Theories of Acts as novel, epic, and biography will be discussed in turn with an introduction to the major supporters of each of these views as well as some minor critiques.

1. *Acts as History*

Although many 20th-century authors made proposals regarding the genre of Acts, the scholar who has had the most lasting influence is H.J. Cadbury. In his pivotal work, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, Cadbury proposes that Luke and Acts are not two separate

¹ For an overview of the question of the genre of Acts and some of the scholarly industry that it has inspired see T. Penner, “Madness in the Method? The Acts of the Apostles in Current Study,” *CBR* 2 (2004): 223-93, esp. 233-41; T.E. Phillips, “The Genre of Acts: Moving Towards a Consensus?,” *CBR* 4 (2006): 365-96.

works by one author, but rather two parts of one unified work.² Understanding that identifying the genre of a work is the “beginning of wisdom,” Cadbury places Luke-Acts in its Hellenistic literary situation by comparing Luke’s composition to similar prose works.³ Beginning with Luke, Cadbury evaluates the then recent proposal by C.W. Votaw that the gospels find their literary parallel in contemporary biographies.⁴ Responding to that study, Cadbury cites the critiques of K.L. Schmidt regarding the difference between *Kunstliteratur* and *Kleinliteratur*,⁵ concluding that there is a strong distinction between biography and history.

In light of Cadbury’s understanding that Luke and Acts form one work, the attribution of the genre of biography to Luke, he claims, must also fit with the nature of Acts, if this is to be a correct label. Unfortunately lacking sufficient discussion regarding his decision, Cadbury declares that Acts is not a biography (although there are some biographical foci on Peter and Paul), and that Luke-Acts is best understood under the rubric of history.⁶ Cadbury cautions that, although Luke is the most literary of the gospel writers, Luke-Acts is not “formal history” in the nature of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, but has similarities to more popular “folk literature.”⁷

Cadbury’s investigation struggles by not clearly defining genre or what makes a work a history and not a biography. Although he rightly identifies that Acts has a focus on the disciples, his use of style as a major genre-distinguishing feature is problematic without support from other formal features, such as subject, character representation, etc. Furthermore, his lack of thorough formal comparisons with other biographies and histories is disturbing as he makes a number of generalisations (e.g., subject, language use, inclusion of speeches) that do not hold up after critical comparison. These features will be specifically evaluated in chapter five.

² Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 1-11.

³ Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 127.

⁴ C.W. Votaw, “The Gospels and Contemporary Biography,” *American Journal of Theology* 19 (1915): 45-73 and 217-49. Votaw evaluates a number of ancient biographies, but specifically focuses on the Socratic dialogues of Plato and Xenophon. For a more recent study of this nature, see Burridge, *What Are the Gospels*.

⁵ Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 129-31, citing K.L. Schmidt, “Die Stellung der Evangelien in der allgemeinen Literaturgeschichte,” in Hans Schmidt (ed.), *EYXAPIETHPION: Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (Vol. 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1923), 50-134.

⁶ Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 132-33.

⁷ Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 134-35. Cadbury acknowledges the difficulty in the label “folk literature” in that this category has typically resisted clear-cut subdivisions that accompany conscious workmanship and particular literary features.

Martin Dibelius is another scholar who has significantly influenced the investigation of the genre of Acts by investigating literary parallels between Acts and Greco-Roman histories. With studies on major interpretive issues such as sources, speeches, and the person of Paul, Dibelius set the tone of scholarship for a number of years, particularly with his application of form criticism.⁸ In light of his comparisons, Dibelius concludes that Acts, unlike Luke's gospel, is history, although there are still a number of unanswered questions surrounding its historical veracity and the amount of liberty that Luke took in the creation of this piece of literature.⁹ Although Dibelius' comparative approach rightly compares the formal features of Acts with contemporary literature, his findings are problematic as they are based on form-critical approaches whose theoretical underpinnings have been undermined by Doty and others.¹⁰ Furthermore, Dibelius does not evaluate the whole range of Acts' formal features, but only evaluates a select portion. As we will see, features such as scope, subject focus, and *topoi* suggest a different genre for Acts.

Following Dibelius, a majority of scholars readily dismissed the idea that Acts might belong to a literary genre other than history, being content to apply the general category of ancient historiography to this work and ignoring the nuances of the genre established by classical scholarship.¹¹

In more recent times the history perspective has splintered into more refined and specific subgenres. Such subgenres include historical monograph (Conzelmann, Hengel, Palmer, Plümacher, Bock),¹² institutional history (Cancik),¹³ kerygmatic

⁸ M. Dibelius, *The Book of Acts: Form, Style, and Theology* (ed. K.C. Hanson; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004).

⁹ Dibelius, *The Book of Acts*, 5.

¹⁰ For references, see Doty, "Fundamental Questions," 521-27.

¹¹ E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (trans. R.M. Wilson; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 90-103; J.J. Scott, "Stephen's Speech: A Possible Model for Luke's Historical Method," *JETS* 17 (1974): 91-97; J.D.G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Valley Forge, PA; Trinity Press, 1996), xv-xix; J.B. Green, "Internal Repetition in Luke-Acts: Contemporary Narratology and Lucan Historiography," in B. Witherington (ed.), *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), 283-99; H.C. Kee, *To Every Nation Under Heaven* (Valley Forge, PA; Trinity Press, 1997), 11-14; J. Verheyden, "The Unity of Luke-Acts," 45-48.

¹² Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, xl; D.W. Palmer, "Acts and the Ancient Historical Monograph," in Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke (eds.), *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting: Vol. 1 Ancient Literary Setting* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 1-29; E. Plümacher, "Die Apostelgeschichte als historische Monographie," in J. Kremer (ed.), *Les Actes des Apôtres: Tradition, redaction, théologie* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1979), 457-66; E. Plümacher, "Cicero und Lukas: Bemerkungen zu Stil und Zweck der historischen Monographie," in J. Verheyden (ed.), *The Unity of Luke-Acts* (BETL 142; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 759-75; Bock, *Acts*, 3; M. Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity* (trans. John Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979).

history (Fearghail),¹⁴ apostolic testimony in oral history (Byrskog),¹⁵ biblical history (Rosner),¹⁶ theological history (Maddox),¹⁷ typological history (Denova),¹⁸ rhetorical history (Rosthschild, Yamada),¹⁹ and historical hagiography (Evans).²⁰ These approaches, although identifying important features of Acts, each have particular methodological problems in their interaction with Acts' formal features and corresponding discussion of Luke's purpose of composition. Due to space limitations, I will only interact with the more widely accepted and thoroughly defended views.²¹

1.1 General History

Aune suggests Luke-Acts is a "popular 'general history' written by an amateur Hellenistic historian with credentials in Greek rhetoric."²² Although his labelling

Hengel (p. 36) claims that "the genre of the work [Acts] is that of a very special kind of 'historical monograph', a special history which describes the missionary development of a young religious movement in connection with two prominent personalities, Peter and Paul." Unfortunately, Hengel fails to define what he means by "special" and how the focus on the missionary activities creates a "special" type of genre.

¹³ H. Cancik, "The History of Culture, Religion, and Institutions in Ancient Historiography: Philological Observations Concerning Luke's History," *JBL* 116 (1997): 673-95. For a critique of this perspective see C. Heil, "Arius Didymus and Luke-Acts," *NovT* 42 (2000): 358-93.

¹⁴ F.Ó. Fearghail, *The Introduction to Luke-Acts: A Study of the Role of Lk 1,1-4-4,44 in the Composition of Luke's Two-Volume Work* (AnBib 126; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991).

¹⁵ S. Byrskog, "History or Story in Acts—A Middle Way? The 'We' Passages, Historical Intertexture, and Oral History," in D.P. Moessner (ed.), *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press, 1999), 257-84; S. Byrskog, *Story as History—History as Story: The Gospel Tradition in the Context of Ancient Oral History* (WUNT 123; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 228-34.

¹⁶ B.S. Rosner, "Acts and Biblical History," in Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke (eds.), *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting: Vol. 1 Ancient Literary Setting* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 65-82.

¹⁷ Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts*, 16.

¹⁸ R.I. Denova, *The Things Accomplished among Us: Prophetic Tradition in the Structural Pattern of Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup 141; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 26-28, 112.

¹⁹ Rothschild, *Luke-Acts and the Rhetoric of History*; K. Yamada, "A Rhetorical History: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles," in S.E. Porter and T.H. Olbricht (eds.), *Rhetoric, Scripture and Theology: Essays from the 1994 Pretoria Conference* (JSNTSup 131; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 230-50. Yamada states that "the historiography of the Acts of the Apostles is rhetorical, particularly of a Ciceronian mixed type" (p. 242). To support this Yamada supplies six points; however, he does not adequately define what characterizes a "Ciceronian" history type, nor does he defend how Luke's mention of "eyewitnesses" and use of speeches are related to this category specifically and not other to types of history.

²⁰ C.A. Evans, "Luke and the Rewritten Bible: Aspects of Lukan Hagiography," in J.H. Charlesworth and C.A. Evans (eds.), *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (JSPSup14; SSEJC 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 170-201.

²¹ For further discussion, see Penner, "Madness in the Method?," 233-41; Phillips, "Genre of Acts."

²² Aune, *Literary Environment*, 77.

Acts “history” is not unique, his claim for Luke as history, contrary to the dominant position, is distinctive. Aune states that “Luke does not belong to a type of ancient biography for it belongs with Acts, and Acts cannot be forced into a biographical mould.”²³ After a survey of historiographical genres (or, more correctly, subgenres) within the Greco-Roman literary world, Aune claims to have found “five major genres of Hellenistic ‘historical’ writing in antiquity...: (1) genealogy or mythography, (2) travel descriptions (ethnography and geography), (3) local history, (4) chronography, and (5) history.”²⁴ Aune subdivides the fifth category of “history” into what he labels “historical monographs,” works that focus on an important sequence of events during a restricted period of time; “general history,” which narrates the important historical experiences of a single national group from their origin to the recent past; and “antiquarian history,” which is an eclectic form of general history of people groups from mythic times.²⁵ Aune further defines “general history” in the ancient world as “focused on particular people (typically the Greeks or Romans) from mythical beginnings to a point in the recent past, including contacts (usually conflicts) with other national groups in various geographical theatres.”²⁶ Aune sees this definition as fitting the nature of Luke-Acts in that the main representatives of the Luke-Acts Christian movement had contact with significant Greco-Roman persons in important places throughout the Mediterranean world.²⁷

Having suggested formal parallels between Luke-Acts and general histories, Aune states, “Luke’s dependence on the conventions of general history made it natural to conceptualize Christianity on analogy to an ethnic group. He presents Christianity as an independent religious movement in the process of emerging from Judaism to which it is its legitimate successor.”²⁸ Furthermore, the distancing of Christians from other religious, political, and partisan groups in the Acts narrative serves to identify the content of Luke-Acts as a fitting subject for historical treatment.²⁹

²³ Aune, *Literary Environment*, 77. Although I disagree with his statement on the genre of Luke, I appreciate the generic consistency that Aune applies to Luke-Acts in his study.

²⁴ Aune, *Literary Environment*, 84.

²⁵ Aune, *Literary Environment*, 86-89.

²⁶ Aune, *Literary Environment*, 139.

²⁷ Aune, *Literary Environment*, 140.

²⁸ Aune, *Literary Environment*, 140.

²⁹ Aune, *Literary Environment*, 141.

One of the challenges to Aune's view is his proliferation of genre and sub-genre categories, as it is difficult to see how the ancients would have ascribed to all these genre divisions. Furthermore, his criteria for establishing parallels between Luke-Acts and history are not always well defined, and do not take into account some important formal features. In discussing style, Aune needs to compare Luke to other historians and prose writers in addition to the writers of the gospels. He also needs to account for Acts' clear emphasis on disciples and the presence of other biographical literary *topoi*. Furthermore, Aune fails to interact with how religious/philosophical groups were typically discussed in Greco-Roman literature.

1.2 Deuteronomistic History

Since his PhD thesis in 1981, T.L. Brodie has argued that the primary model for Luke-Acts can be found in the "Primary History" (Genesis-2 Kings) of the Old Testament.³⁰ Although Luke uses models from the entire Old Testament, his primary source, according to Brodie, is the Elijah/Elisha narrative in 1 and 2 Kings.³¹ Brodie writes:

Of all the models and sources used by Luke—and he seems to have used many, old and new—the most foundational was the main body of the Elijah–Elisha story (1 Kings 17.1—2 Kings 8.15, a text which is approximately the same length as Mark's Gospel). This was the component around which all the other components would be adapted and assembled.³²

³⁰ T.L. Brodie, *Luke the Literary Interpreter: Luke-Acts as a Systematic Rewriting and Updating of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative in 1 and 2 Kings* (Pontificia Universita S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Vatican City, 1981).

³¹ For a picture of the various sources that went into the creation of Luke-Acts, such as Genesis-2 Kings, 1 Corinthians (among other Epistles), proto-Luke, Mark, Matthew and John, see T.L. Brodie, *The Birthing of the New Testament: The Intertextual Development of the New Testament Writings* (NTM 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2004), xxviii.

For a similar argument on the development of proto-Luke by using the Elijah-Elisha narratives as a basic literary model, along with a proposed Greek-English text of proto-Luke, see T.L. Brodie, *Proto-Luke, the Oldest Gospel Account: A Christ-Centered Synthesis of Old Testament History, Modelled Especially on the Elijah-Elisha Narrative. Introduction, Text, and Old Testament Model* (Limerick: Dominican Biblical Institute, 2006). See also Brodie, *Birthing the New Testament*, 284-89. According to Brodie, this proto-Luke becomes the foundation for Luke-Acts and accounts for the material of Luke and the first half of Acts until ch. 15. Brodie, *Birthing of the New Testament*, 84-106.

³² T.L. Brodie, "Luke-Acts as an Imitation and Emulation of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative," E. Richard (ed.), *New Views on Luke and Acts* (Collegeville, MN: Michael Glazier, 1990), 78-85, 78.

Brodie's dissertation and later writings argue that Luke used the Elijah-Elisha narrative to create a sort of "prophetic biography."³³ Moreover, from the Elijah-Elisha narrative Luke derived the basic plan of a two-part work centered on an assumption/ascension of the main protagonist, and also gleaned various narrative elements from which to build specific texts in Luke-Acts.³⁴ This systematic use of the Old Testament in the creation of the Jesus narrative adheres to the Greco-Roman practice of *imitatio* and *emulatio*, forming a new text by appropriating old material in such a way as to say something new.³⁵

Although Brodie is not the first to suggest that the deuteronomistic histories and their Septuagint versions influenced Luke's writings,³⁶ he does make a unique proposition as to the development and sources of the Lukan narratives through his conception of "proto-Luke," a document containing portions of Luke-Acts, based on the Septuagint, which is ancestor of the Gospels. His argument is unconvincing, however. He does not define precisely what he means by positing "intertextuality" between Luke and the Elijah-Elisha narrative, nor how he understands Luke to have "used" and "reworked" this material. Although his list of possible Old Testament influences on Luke is intriguing (and few would deny the importance of the Old Testament and Elijah stories for Luke), he does not adequately support the argument that these texts have fundamentally shaped Luke's work. Furthermore, his understanding that Luke-Acts and the other gospels developed in conversation with one another, and his suggestion that the gospels draw on 1 Corinthians, 1 Peter, and other logia undermine the strength of his proposal.

³³ Brodie, "Luke-Acts as an Imitation," 79. Brodie is clear that he does not agree that Luke's model was that of the Hellenistic biographies as suggested by Talbert (see below), but that it was from the deuteronomistic historians biography of Elijah and Elisha. One of the main reasons for this emphasis on 1 and 2 Kings is that, unlike Diogenes Laertius, the Elijah-Elisha text has an assumption into heaven (85).

³⁴ An example of Luke's use of 1 and 2 Kings are: Luke 7:1-8:3 // 1 Kgs 17-18, 22 and 2 Kgs 4:1-37; Luke 9:50-10:20 and Luke 22:66-Acts 2:41 // 1 Kgs 19 and 2 Kgs 1-3; Acts 5:1-11; 6:9-14; 7:58 // 1 Kgs 20:1-21:21; Acts 8 uses 2 Kgs 5; 6:24-7:20; Acts 9:1-30 amalgamates 1 Kgs 21:22-43; 2 Kgs 6:8-23 and 8:7-15.

³⁵ Brodie, *Birthing the New Testament*, 6-22. See pp. 13-17 for a specific discussion on the possibility of imitating historiographical texts.

³⁶ See, for example, C.F. Evans, "The Central Section of Luke's Gospel," in D.E. Nineham (ed.), *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 37-53; M. Goulder, *Type and History in Acts* (London: SPCK, 1964).

1.3 Political History

In a number of articles David L. Balch has tried to map out parallels between Acts and Hellenistic history writers, concluding that Acts is akin to Greco-Roman political history.³⁷ In an early article, “The Genre of Luke-Acts,” Balch addressed concerns with understanding Acts as biography (Talbert) and novel (Pervo).³⁸ Although Balch did not dismiss all of the arguments comprising these two views, he did suggest that the genre most similar to Luke-Acts is Greek history, especially the approach of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

Balch stated that the historiographic form created and utilized by Dionysius provided a model for Luke’s narrative. Following a preface, 1.1-8, Dionysius divides his *Roman Antiquities* into three main parts: 1) 1.9-70 – Rome: Ancestors and Date of Settlement; 2) 1.71–4.85 – The Roman Monarchy: Founding and Overthrow; and 3) Books 5-20 – The Roman Aristocracy: Annual Consuls to the First Punic War (before Polybius’ history).³⁹ Balch saw a similar pattern in Luke’s work, which, following the prefaces (Luke 1:1-4; Acts 1:1-2), is also divided into three similar parts: 1) Luke 3:23-28; Acts 7:1-53; 13:16-41, 46-47 – Ancestors; 2) Luke – The Royal Founder; and 3) Acts – “Growth of the Word among All Nations”.⁴⁰ For Balch, Stephen’s speech in Acts 7, the concept of a royal founder with accompanying birth and death narratives, and the story of the expansion of the

³⁷ Balch is not the only scholar who has suggested this perspective on Acts, but is one of the major proponents and initiators of this theory. Some scholars who have followed Balch in this view are W.C. van Unnik, “Luke’s Second Book and the Rules of Hellenistic Historiography,” in J. Kremer (ed.), *Les Actes des Apôtres* (BETL 48; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979), 37-60; Plümacher, “Cicero und Lukas,” 759-75; E. Plümacher, “The Mission Speeches in Acts and Dionysius of Halicarnassus,” in D.P. Moessner (ed.), *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke’s Narrative Claim upon Israel’s Legacy* (Harrisburg, PA; Trinity Press, 1999), 251-66; S.E. Porter, “Thucydides 1.22.1 and the Speeches in Acts: Is There a Thucydidean View?,” *NovT* 32 (1990): 121-42; W.J. McCoy, “In the Shadow of Thucydides,” in B. Witherington (ed.), *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 3-32; Heil, “Arius Didymus and Luke-Acts,” 358-93.

³⁸ D.L. Balch, “The Genre of Luke-Acts: Individual Biography, Adventure Novel, or Political History,” *SWJT* 33 (1990): 5-19. Most of this material, but not all, can also be found in D.L. Balch, “Comments on the Genre and a Political Theme of Luke-Acts: A Preliminary Comparison of Two Hellenistic Historians,” *SBLSP 1989* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 343-61. For a fuller discussion on the approaches of Talbert and Pervo see below.

³⁹ Balch, “The Genre of Luke-Acts,” 11; Balch, “Comments on the Genre and a Political Theme of Luke-Acts,” 345.

⁴⁰ Balch, “The Genre of Luke-Acts,” 12; Balch, “Comments on the Genre and a Political Theme of Luke-Acts,” 345.

Christian faith to include many different ethnic groups linked Luke-Acts to the political history strain of Dionysius.

In a more recent article, however, Balch has deemphasized the importance of being able to specify the genre of Acts, stating that “the question of genre is for the most part secondary.”⁴¹ Balch now expresses a more nuanced understanding of ancient genre in which the categories of biography and history overlap and have blurred boundaries.⁴² Furthermore, Balch has determined that specifying the genre of Acts is secondary to understanding its internal argument.⁴³ Balch still views Acts as history, but suggests that identifying a specific subgenre of history should be resisted.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Balch still highlights a number of parallels between Luke-Acts and Dionysius of Halicarnassus and certain of Plutarch’s *Lives* that have distinct political emphases.⁴⁵

This more nuanced approach rightly identifies the generic overlap of history and biography, although I strongly disagree with his claim that understanding the genre of a work is secondary, as genre provides the underpinning for Balch’s interpretive approach (see chapter one). Furthermore, Balch’s delineation of Dionysius’ *History* is far too rigid to provide a model structure for Luke-Acts to follow. Finally, Balch errs by generically connecting Plutarch’s *Lives* to Dionysius’ *History* based solely on their political focus, as if topic were the only important genre indicator. Plutarch’s *Lives*, although having political subjects, is a collected biography and is highly focused on character development (see appendix four).

1.4 Apologetic History

One of the first scholars to suggest that Acts has a strong apologetic emphasis was F.F. Bruce: “The author of Acts has a right to be called ... the first Christian

⁴¹ D.L. Balch, “ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ – Jesus as Founder of the Church in Luke-Acts: Form and Function,” in T. Penner and C.V. Stichele (eds.), *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2003), 139-88, 141.

⁴² Balch, “ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ,” 143.

⁴³ Balch, “ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ,” 145.

⁴⁴ Balch, “ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ,” 186.

⁴⁵ Balch, “ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ,” 154.

apologist.”⁴⁶ Following Bruce, other scholars have also claimed to see apologetic aspects in Acts; however, most of these scholars would not categorize Acts as “apologetic history,” but rather as history with an apologetic component.⁴⁷

The primary scholar who has developed this position is Gregory Sterling, whose oft-cited monograph has become a standard work.⁴⁸ Sterling tries to place Luke-Acts within the Greco-Roman apologetic historiography tradition, which has its original roots in Greek ethnography.⁴⁹ After outlining the origins and initial development of the Greek ethnographic tradition, Sterling maps a shift from Greeks writing from a position external to the culture they describe, to internal members of a culture group giving an accurate portrayal of their culture from within.⁵⁰ For Sterling, the ultimate parallel for Luke and his work was Josephus and his *Antiquities*.⁵¹

Sterling defines the genre of apologetic historiography as “the story of a subgroup of people in an extended prose narrative written by a member of the group who follows the group’s own traditions but Hellenizes them in an effort to establish the identity of the group within the setting of the larger world.”⁵² As Josephus’ *Antiquities* provides an apology for Jews, so, according to Sterling, Luke provides an apology for Christians to the outsider reader in Greco-Roman world.

⁴⁶ F.F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: Greek Text*, 22. Bruce is not the first person to suggest that Acts is a pure apology for the Christian faith. The most notable scholar is Ernst Haenchen, who popularized the view that Acts was *apologia pro ecclesia*, Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 78-81. This perspective was sharply criticized by C.K. Barrett in his now infamous remark, “[Acts] was not addressed to the Emperor, with the intention of proving the political harmlessness of Christianity in general and Paul in particular... No Roman official would ever have filtered out so much of what to him would be theological and ecclesiastical rubbish in order to reach so tiny a grain of relevant apology,” C.K. Barrett, *Luke the Historian in Recent Study* (London: Epworth, 1961), 63.

⁴⁷ These include, but are not limited to, C.K. Barrett, “The First New Testament?,” *NovT* 38 (1996): 94-104, esp. 101; L.T. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (SP 5; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992), 3-9; P.J. Tomson, “Gamaliel’s Counsel and the Apologetic Strategy of Luke-Acts,” in J. Verheyden (ed.), *The Unity of Luke-Acts* (BETL 142; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 585-604.

⁴⁸ Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*.

⁴⁹ G.E. Sterling, “Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography,” *SBLSP 1989* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 326-42.

⁵⁰ Sterling, “Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography,” 327-36; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 220-225.

⁵¹ For an in-depth discussion of the apologetic nature of Josephus, see Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 226-310.

⁵² Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 17. For a critique of labelling Luke-Acts as apologetic historiography and the use of intended audience for the distinction between apologetic and self-definitional history see S.A. Adams, “Luke, Josephus and Historiography: The Formation of Luke-Acts and its relationship to Jewish Apologetic Historiography,” in S.E. Porter and A.W. Pitts (eds.), *Christian Origins and Classical Culture: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2012).

A similar approach has been adopted by Todd Penner, whose monograph focuses on the epideictic rhetorical nature of Acts 6:1-8:3.⁵³ Penner claims that Luke creates a speech that recasts the history of Israel in such a way as to place the immediate literary audience, in the midst of a conflict between the newly formed Christian community and unbelieving outsiders, into that history.⁵⁴ Luke thus highlights the praiseworthy features of the nascent Christian movement in opposition to the established Jewish leadership and grounds the ideals of his own day in the past story of the Israelite community.⁵⁵

One challenge to understanding Luke-Acts as apologetic historiography is the question of audience: For whom was Luke-Acts written? Marguerat is correct when he claims, “The language of Acts is a language for the initiated. The implied reader is the Christian or an interested sympathizer, as for example, the most excellent Theophilus (Luke 1.3-4; Acts 1.1). Luke’s apologetic is addressed to Christian ‘insiders’ of the movement and a circle which gravitates around it.”⁵⁶ Another challenge comes from certain episodes in Luke-Acts that undermine the apologetic thrust of the work. Although Luke portrays the Christian community as having a strong social ethic (Acts 2:44-47; 4:32-35) and being willing to submit to authority (Acts 25:10-11), Luke also recounts scenes in which Christians cause social disturbances (Acts 19:23-41). Furthermore, in Acts nearly every Christian leader is arrested at one time and charged with disturbing the social order.⁵⁷ Maddox draws attention to the fact that the work ends with the trials and imprisonment of Paul,

⁵³ T. Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins: Stephen and the Hellenists in Lukan Apologetic Historiography* (ESEC 10; New York: T&T Clark, 2004). Penner (p. 223) explicitly states, “I do not argue here that this tradition of historiography provides some sort of direct literary model for Luke (although that does remain a possibility), I do suggest that examining Acts in the context of this particular mode of cultural communication will reinforce some of the broader literary patterns...” Therefore, even though Penner does not make Luke-Acts explicitly model itself on apologetic historiography as Sterling does, he does see “Luke-Acts as a premiere example of early Christian historiography written in the tradition of Jewish apologetic historiography” (p. 260).

⁵⁴ Penner, *Praise of Christian Origins*, 323-27. Although he does not provide a rhetorical discussion as put forward by Penner, Daniel Marguerat, after eliminating other generic options for the classification of Acts, settles on the idea that the “closest categorization [for Acts] is a historiography with an apologetic aim.” D. Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian: Writing the ‘Acts of the Apostles’* (SNTSMS 121; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 34.

⁵⁵ Penner, *Praise of Christian Origins*, 330.

⁵⁶ Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, 30.

⁵⁷ Peter 4:3; 12:3; John 4:3; “the Apostles” 5:18; Stephen 6:12; James 12:2; Paul 16:22-24; 17:9; 18:12-17 (court); 21:33-28:31; Silas 16:22-24; 17:9. The notable exceptions are Barnabas and Philip.

which “blunts the edge of any suggestion that Luke’s aim was evangelistic.”⁵⁸ That the Christians in Acts are portrayed as social deviants challenges the view that it is designed as an apologetic portrayal of the Christian movement.

Looking back over this section, it is clear that although a majority of scholars put Acts in the genre of history, there is still much disagreement regarding which subgenre, if any, to assign. Furthermore, no theory positing Acts as history has adequately accounted for all the data or provided an exhaustive evaluation of the formal (structural and content) features of Acts.

2. *Acts as Novel/Romance*

One of the major challenges to the consensus of Acts as history was developed by Richard I. Pervo, who states in *Profit with Delight* that his work views Acts “from a different perspective” in the quest to identify its genre.⁵⁹ Pervo critiques Haenchen for suggesting that Luke was a historian and at the same time dismissing the historicity of Acts as “untenable” without providing any evidence.⁶⁰ Pervo claims that Haenchen presents his readers with “a Luke who was bumbling and incompetent as a historian yet brilliant and creative as an author.”⁶¹ Portraying Luke as a historian whose history cannot be trusted does not sit well with Pervo, who looks elsewhere for a genre that includes works that are bad history, but good writing. While acknowledging that features of Acts such as the preface and speeches have parallels in ancient historiography, Pervo maintains that these specific features are insufficient for characterizing the entire work as historiography, especially in light of other literary features that are not characteristic of that genre.⁶²

For Pervo, two primary criteria distinguish Acts from ancient historical writings. First, Luke is a “popular” writer and does not follow the socially accepted rules

⁵⁸ Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts*, 181. Maddox concludes that there are “good reasons for doubting that Luke was writing for an audience outside the Christian fellowship” (pp. 12-15)

⁵⁹ R.I. Pervo, *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 1.

⁶⁰ Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 3; Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 224, 640, 709-10, 740.

⁶¹ Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 3.

⁶² Pervo remarks that the cultural elite of the day would not have seen Acts (or Luke for that matter) as sophisticated history. Rather, Pervo claims, “No educated Greek would place such a poorly written account of the missionary activities of a newfangled oriental cult during its first thirty years on the shelf beside the *Antiquities* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.” Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 6.

appropriate for a work of history.⁶³ Second, Luke betrays a deeper interest in entertaining his readers than would have been appropriate for an historical work at that time.⁶⁴ Luke's attempt at entertainment, for Pervo, is expressed in literary themes (arrests, torture, riots, travel, shipwrecks, persecution, conspiracies, etc.)⁶⁵ and devices (humour, wit, irony, pathos, exotica, etc.).⁶⁶

In light of these and other features, Pervo proposes that Acts bears a strong resemblance to ancient novels. He defines an ancient novel as "a relatively lengthy work of prose fiction depicting and deriding certain ideals through an entertaining presentation of the lives and experiences of a person or persons whose activity transcends the limits of ordinary living as known to its implied readers."⁶⁷ This definition, with its elements of entertaining subject matter, accessible popular style, and incorporation of particular if not predictable themes, affirms A. Heiserman's formula for a novel: "a novel = material + manner + style + structure."⁶⁸

In the final chapter of *Profit with Delight*, Pervo evaluates the nature of Luke and Acts in light of his discussion of the novel genre and of other early Christian Acts that appeared in the centuries following Luke's work. Pervo is not dismayed that no extant "apocryphal" Acts have a corresponding gospel, because he does not view Luke and Acts as a literary unit; he therefore has no problem assigning them two distinct genres.⁶⁹ Pervo views Luke as a biographical novel and its sequel, Acts, as a historical novel.⁷⁰

Although Pervo is not the first to interpret Acts through the lens of the ancient novel, his work has been instrumental in bringing this idea into mainstream scholarly

⁶³ Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 11.

⁶⁴ While Pervo acknowledges that there is a distinct "edifying" characteristic to Acts that would have paralleled that of ancient histories, the goal of entertainment alongside edification was not part of the larger historiography genre. For example, see Lucian, *How to Write History*, 10.

⁶⁵ For an outline of Acts and various dangers found within the narrative, see Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 14-17.

⁶⁶ In chapter three, Pervo outlines the various literary techniques that Luke employs in the creation of the Acts narrative. Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 58-85.

⁶⁷ Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 105.

⁶⁸ Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 114, citing A. Heiserman, *The Novel Before the Novel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 59.

⁶⁹ For Pervo's view of Luke and Acts as distinct works, see Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 4; R.I. Pervo, "Must Luke and Acts Belong to the Same Genre?," in D.J. Lull (ed.), *SLBSP* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 309-16; R.I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), 18-20; M.C. Parsons and R.I. Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).

⁷⁰ For Luke as a "biographical novel", see Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 185 n.5. For Acts as a "historical novel", see Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 137.

discussion.⁷¹ Despite the critiques levelled against his classification of Acts as an ancient novel,⁷² Pervo's thesis has inspired a number of other scholars to explore the relationship between Acts and ancient popular literature.⁷³

Nevertheless, there are some notable issues with this perspective. First, Pervo ignores the preface of Acts, which explicitly links Acts to Luke's Gospel and the (biographical-historical) methodological approach espoused in Luke 1:1-4 (see chapter five). Second, though there are superficial similarities between Acts and historical romances, there are also differences. For example, there is little evidence that the main protagonists in romances pass their task to other characters and then depart from the narrative.⁷⁴ In Acts, however, especially with Peter, Stephen, Philip, this is the case. Rather than following the romance narrative pattern, which follows the main characters throughout the work, Acts shifts character focus regularly. Acts also has an open ending with no conclusion, a feature that is highly problematic for the novel genre. Finally, Acts lacks any romantic element. As a result, Pervo's proposal is unconvincing.

⁷¹ For a precursor, see S.M. Praeder, "Luke-Acts and the Ancient Novel," in K.H. Richards (ed.), *SBLSP* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1981), 269-92.

⁷² For example, see Steven Walker, "Review of Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles by Richard I. Pervo," *Christianity and Literature* 39 (1990): 100-101; James M. Dawsey, "Characteristics of Folk-Epic in Acts," in D.J. Lull (ed.), *SLBSP* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 317-25; Stanley E. Porter, "The Genre of Acts and the Ethics of Discourse," in Thomas E. Phillips (ed.), *Acts and Ethics* (NTM 9; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005), 1-15, 5-7.

⁷³ While some of these articles are not specifically related to the ancient novel genre, their popular parallels have been given credence by Pervo's work. See Loveday Alexander, "Fact, Fiction and the Genre of Acts," in *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles* (ECC; LNTS 289; New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 133-64; S. Schwartz, "The Trial Scene in the Greek Novels and in Acts Exercises," in T. Penner and C.V. Stichele (eds.), *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2003), 105-38; R.S. Ascough, "Narrative Technique and the Generic Designation: Crowd Scenes in Luke-Acts and in Chariton," *CBQ* 58 (1996): 69-81.

Although her view does not fall directly within the novel category, Marla Selvidge has suggested (p. 331) that Acts can be viewed as a "violent aetiological legend (or foundation myth) about the birth of the Jesus movement" in which Luke advocates and teaches that violence and aggressive acts are acceptable and even necessary activities in certain circumstances. Marla Selvidge, "The Acts of the Apostles: A Violent Aetiological Legend," *SBLSP 1986* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 330-40.

⁷⁴ A notable exception is *Acts of Peter* 2-3 where Paul passes his work over to Peter. However, the genre of this work has been questioned and its time of composition clearly eliminates it as a model for Luke.

3. *Acts as Epic*

Following Pervo's impetus to evaluate Acts in light of other, non-historical genres, Dennis R. MacDonald posits that the best way to interpret Acts and other Christian narratives is in light of the Homeric epics.⁷⁵ Beginning with "apocryphal" Acts and Tobit, MacDonald seeks to determine if these religious texts depend or are modeled on the works of Homer.⁷⁶ In his monograph on Mark, MacDonald makes the bold claim that "Mark wanted his readers to detect his transvaluation of Homer."⁷⁷ In an attempt to determine literary mimesis in ancient texts, MacDonald proposes six criteria for identifying and weighing literary imitation: (1) accessibility: the proposed text model must have been widely available and readable by the imitating author; (2) analogy: other ancient writers must have also imitated the model text; (3) density: multiple occurrences of imitation rather than just one incidence are required; (4) sequence: the imitation must follow the literary sequence expressed in the model text; (5) distinctive traits: the source and its imitation must share distinctive features, as opposed to features that are common or characteristic throughout that particular genre; and (6) interpretability: the imitating work must reveal to the reader its intention to reinterpret the model text.⁷⁸

The claim that Mark imitates Homer, along with some of MacDonald's criteria, have been challenged on a number of levels, including the literary character of Mark, the possible modeling of Mark on another non-Homeric writer whose work was based on Homer, and the lack of consistency of some of MacDonald's criteria.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Although D.R. MacDonald has expounded his views in a number of articles, his primary monographs that specifically engage the biblical text are Dennis R. MacDonald, *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Dennis R. MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer? Four Cases from the Acts of the Apostles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

⁷⁶ D.R. MacDonald, *Christianizing Homer: "The Odyssey," Plato, and "The Acts of Andrew"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); D.R. MacDonald, "Tobit and the Odyssey," in D.R. MacDonald (ed.), *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press, 2001), 11-40.

⁷⁷ MacDonald, *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark*, 3.

⁷⁸ MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer?*, 2-7.

⁷⁹ For some of the critiques levelled against the approach and theory proposed by MacDonald, see MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer?*, 4, 6, 14. Although MacDonald acknowledges various critiques in his monograph, he unfortunately does not thoroughly respond to the questions that were raised, nor does he provide any names or bibliographical references of critiques to determine if he is accurately representing his opponents.

Arguably the most challenging question in response to MacDonald's claim is why no other author, especially in the classical period, has seen these parallels in Mark.⁸⁰ In response to this question, MacDonald says he has found someone who notes Mark's imitation of Homer: "the author of Luke-Acts."⁸¹

To demonstrate this claim, MacDonald applies his six criteria to four passages in the Acts narrative and compares them with their Homeric counterparts: the visions of Cornelius and Peter (Acts 10:1–11:18) with *Iliad* 2 (Agamemnon's dream); Paul's farewell at Miletus (Acts 20:18–35) with *Iliad* 6 (Hector's farewell);⁸² the selection of Matthias (Acts 1:15–26) with *Iliad* 7 (casting lots for Ajax); and Peter's escape from prison (12:3–17) with *Iliad* 24 (Priam's escape from Achilles). In light of his investigation, MacDonald claims that Luke, in Acts, consciously imitates Homer's *Iliad*,⁸³ and that Luke-Acts, as a created narrative with no basis in Christian tradition or sources, can no longer inform Christian theology.⁸⁴

Although MacDonald was the first to posit that Acts makes use of Homeric models, his is not the first work to suggest that Luke-Acts is based on an ancient epic. Bonz set the stage by stating that the creation of epics within a culture or community typically occurs at a transitional time in that community's development and, as a result, holds a particularly powerful place within that culture.⁸⁵ Building on the models of *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, the Old Testament narratives, Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, and Virgil's *Aeneid*, Bonz posits that Luke created his foundational epic to

For a critical evaluation of MacDonald's approach and the veracity of his findings, in which he suggests that MacDonald created, rather than discovered the parallels he developed, see K.O. Sandnes, "IMITATIO HOMERI? An Appraisal of Dennis R. MacDonald's 'Mimesis Criticism'," *JBL* 124 (2005): 715–32.

⁸⁰ Robert B. Coote and Mary P. Coote, "Homer and Scripture in the Gospel of Mark," in Holly E. Hearon (ed.), *Distant Voices Drawing Near: Essays in Honor of Antoinette Clark Wire* (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 2004), 189–202, 191.

⁸¹ MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer?*, 14.

⁸² See also, D.R. MacDonald, "Paul's Farewell to the Ephesian Elders and Hector's Farewell to Andromache: A Strategic Imitation of Homer's *Iliad*," in T. Penner and C.V. Stichele (eds.), *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2003), 189–203.

⁸³ MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer?*, 146–51. Still unclear, however, is the imitation of Homer by Luke's gospel. If Luke did acknowledge Mark's use of Homer, what effect did this have on Luke's gospel? Furthermore, why are these parallels not clearly highlighted in Luke's gospel narrative?

⁸⁴ MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer?*, 151.

⁸⁵ Marianne P. Bonz, *The Past As Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 25.

provide in his narrative a sense of history and to reshape the vision of the community.⁸⁶

In particular, Bonz proposes that Luke modeled his narrative on Virgil's *Aeneid*: "Luke has endeavored to interpret the underlying meaning of the whole of Christian history – and in the manner surprisingly analogous to Virgil's interpretation of the meaning of Roman history."⁸⁷ Pushing this analogy further, Bonz sees Luke as challenging the Roman claim to superiority derived from their connection to Jupiter by drawing on Jesus and the salvation history of Israel:

Luke-Acts presents a rival vision of empire, with a rival deity issuing an alternative plan for universal human salvation. Furthermore, Luke-Acts names a very different sort of hero as the primary instrument for the implementation of that place, a different concept of the chosen people, and a very different means by which conquest leads to inevitable victory...The divine plan ultimately calls for the eternal reign of the risen Jesus over a universally chosen community of believers.⁸⁸

Although Bonz' theory has interpretational payoff in that it applies a literary model that spans the whole of Luke-Acts, takes seriously the theological claims and themes within the narrative, and outlines particular parallels between Luke-Acts and Greco-Roman literature, there are some problems with her proposal. Most notably, the *Aeneid* is written in Latin and not in Greek. Although there was a Greek prose version of this epic translated by Polybius, the general availability/distribution of this work and its use in the ancient world are still unknown.⁸⁹ Similarly, although Bonz claims that the understanding of genre is key for the interpretation of a work, she does not thoroughly deal with the view that Luke's gospel is a *bios*.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Bonz, *The Past As Legacy*, 26. Bonz suggests that Luke writes from the perspective of "nostalgia for the heroic past and a longing to connect himself and his audience to an idealized version of those early days."

⁸⁷ Bonz, *The Past As Legacy*, vii-viii.

⁸⁸ Bonz, *The Past As Legacy*, 182.

⁸⁹ Bonz, *The Past As Legacy*, 25. For her support of Virgil's *Aeneid* being translated into Greek prose, see Seneca, *Polyb.* 11.5.

⁹⁰ Bonz, *The Past As Legacy*, 183. Bonz does mention the theory developed by C.H. Talbert that Luke-Acts is related to biographical genre (p. 8), but she does not deal with Luke's gospel individually. See also George W. Young, review of M.P. Bonz, *The Past As Legacy*, *RBL* 12/19/2001.

These major attempts to view Acts in light of ancient epic have inspired other scholars to see possible relationships between Luke's writings and epic works.⁹¹ In response to the proposals of MacDonald and Bonz, Loveday Alexander identifies possible epic influences in the writings of Luke. Although she is very clear in stating that "Acts is not an epic," and that it does not contain the necessary formal features that would place it within this literary genre, she finds the influential role of Homer and Virgil in the ancient literary world too important to ignore.⁹² She argues that is important for modern scholars not only to read the text sensitively for the influences of ancient epic, but also to realize that the mere inclusion of themes of and allusions to Homer and Virgil does not make a text an epic.⁹³

Alexander is correct when she critiques Bonz and MacDonald and points out that Acts lacks the formal features typically associated with an epic. First, it is not in metered verse, a key component of an epic.⁹⁴ Second, the work is not on a grand scale, such as that of Homer or Virgil. The use of an epic theme or a reference to a particular Homeric scene is not enough to make a work an epic. These theories conflate content with formal structure; shared content cannot determine genre when formal features are lacking.

4. *Acts as Biography*

The fourth major generic category applied to Acts is biography. Originally proposed by in his influential work *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts*, Talbert argues that Diogenes Laertius' *The Lives of Eminent Philosophers* provides the literary model for Luke-Acts.⁹⁵ Investigating the content, form, and

⁹¹ One example would be M. Moreland, "Jerusalem Imagined: Rethinking Earliest Christian Claims to the Hebrew Epic" (Ph.D. Diss., Claremont Graduate University, 1999).

⁹² Loveday Alexander, "New Testament Narrative and Ancient Epic," in *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles* (ECC; LNTS 289; New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 165-82, 173. Alexander does state that "at certain points in the narrative there are subtle linguistic and symbolic clues which create hyperlinks with alternative cultural scripts," namely the narratives of Homer and Virgil (181).

⁹³ Alexander, "New Testament Narrative and Ancient Epic," 181.

⁹⁴ According to Aristotle (*Poet.* 1459b-1460a) epic requires "heroic verse" (μέτρον τὸ ἥρωικόν).

⁹⁵ C.H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (SBLMS 20; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1974), 125. For other works by Talbert that place Luke-Acts in the matrix of biography, see C.H. Talbert, "Biographies of Philosophers and Rulers as Instruments of Religious Propaganda in Mediterranean Antiquity," *ANRW* II.16.2 (1978): 1619-51; C.H. Talbert, "Prophecies of Future Greatness: The Contribution of Greco-Roman Biographies to an Understanding of Luke 1:5-

function of Diogenes' *Lives*, Talbert argues that the modern reader needs to remember that "the role of a founder of a philosophic school in antiquity is a religious, not an academic one."⁹⁶ Another connection between Acts and Diogenes' *Lives* is that both include "narratives about the masters' successors and selected other disciples who in actuality formed a type of religious community created and sustained by the divine figure."⁹⁷ These narratives conclude with a summary of the doctrines held by the various schools and their adherents.

Talbert proposes that the content of Diogenes' *Lives* takes "an (a)+(b)+(c) form" with "(a) life of the founder + (b) narrative about the disciples and successors + (c) summary of the doctrine of the school" creating a holistic picture of the philosopher and his doctrines.⁹⁸ This "(a)+(b)+(c) form" is not a rigid literary structure for Diogenes Laertius and the (c) component can be omitted because there is occasional overlap between sections (a) and (c).⁹⁹ The (a) and (b) sections, on the other hand, need to be consistently present, because they present a unified picture of the origins of the school and the way in which the particular philosophy was carried out and handed down through the generations.

With this literary model firmly in mind, Talbert compares Diogenes' *Lives* with Luke-Acts. Both Luke-Acts and Diogenes have for their content "the life of a founder of a religious community, a list or narrative of the founder's successors and selected other disciples, and a summary of the doctrine of the community."¹⁰⁰ In addition, Luke-Acts follows the same form as Diogenes' *Lives* in that the life of the founder is the first structural unit, followed by a narrative of successors and other

4:15," in J.L. Crenshaw and S. Sandmel (eds.), *The Divine Helmsman: Studies on God's Control of Human Events, Presented to Lou H. Silberman* (New York: KTAV, 1980), 129-41; C.H. Talbert, "The Acts of the Apostles: Monograph or 'Bios?'," in B. Witherington (ed.), *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), 58-72.

For a substantial critique of Talbert's view, particularly his *What is a Gospel?*, see D.E. Aune, "The Problem of the Genre of the Gospels: A Critique of C.H. Talbert's *What is a Gospel?*," in R.T. France and D. Wenham (ed.), *Gospel Perspectives* (Vol. 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981), 9-60. Talbert defended his view in C.H. Talbert, "Reading Chance, Moessner, and Parsons," in M.C. Parsons and J.B. Tyson (eds.), *Cadbury, Knox, and Talbert: American Contributions to the Study of Acts* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 229-40. Another critique can be found in Balch, "The Genre of Luke-Acts," 5-7.

⁹⁶ Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 126. Citing the writings of Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 140-42; Porphyry, *Vit. Pyth.* 20.

⁹⁷ Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 126.

⁹⁸ Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 127.

⁹⁹ Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 129.

¹⁰⁰ Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 129-30.

disciples, thus forming an (a)+(b) pattern. Although the final (c) component of Luke-Acts, according to Talbert, is present, located within the narratives of the (a) and (b) sections, its formal absence suggests that the structure of Luke-Acts is similar to the sources that Diogenes used in the creation of his *Lives* rather than to the *Lives* themselves.¹⁰¹

Although aware of some of the differences between Luke-Acts and Diogenes, such as structural changes, the limited number of pre-Lukan gospels, and the superior development of Acts' (b) section over those in Diogenes' *Lives*, Talbert holds that the similarities in content, form and function are sufficient to make the comparison. As a result, Talbert concludes that "Luke-Acts, to some extent, must be regarded as belonging to the genre of Greco-Roman biography, in particular, to that type of biography which dealt with the lives of the philosophers and their successors."¹⁰²

For Talbert, the fact that Luke modeled his work on philosophical biographies is important for understanding his authorial intentions. By choosing this literary type, Talbert claims, Luke was intending to vindicate one particular form of Christianity:

The Lucan community was one that was troubled by a clash of views over the legitimate understanding of Jesus and the true nature of the Christian life. The Evangelist needed to be able to say both *where* the true tradition was to be found in his time (i.e., with the successors of Paul and of the Twelve) and what the content of that tradition was (i.e., how the apostles lived and *what* they taught, seen as rooted in the career of Jesus).¹⁰³

As a result, Luke's selection of the biographical genre was the best option to fulfill his purpose for writing.

Loveday Alexander, in evaluating Talbert's work and the nature of intellectual biography in the Hellenistic era,¹⁰⁴ investigates the similarities and differences between Acts and Diogenes Laertius' *Lives*. She concludes that, although there are some parallels such as the concept of succession, overall Diogenes' work is a "bad fit" for Acts in that a number of the characteristic features of Diogenes' *Lives* are

¹⁰¹ Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 131, 133.

¹⁰² Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 134.

¹⁰³ Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 135. Emphasis his.

¹⁰⁴ Loveday Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," in *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles* (ECC; LNTS 289; New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 43-68.

either missing in Acts or over/under developed.¹⁰⁵ Alexander therefore rejects Talbert's position that Acts is based on a Diogenes-like model. Though there are some notable parallels between Acts and Diogenes' *Lives*, I agree with Alexander that Talbert's discussion lacks nuance and presents a view of genre that is too rigid.

Also interacting with Talbert's theory are D.L. Barr and J.L. Wentling, who compare Luke-Acts with the biographical genre of the Greco-Roman period. Beginning with a preliminary study of literary theory, they (rightly) commence their article with a discussion of the nature of genre and the challenges of defining this term.¹⁰⁶ This is followed by a categorisation of internal and external features of Greco-Roman biography and their literary conventions. Identifying three major external divisions within ancient biography, namely individual biography, paired biography and series biography, Barr and Wentling evaluate the particular literary patterns that these forms take. Touching on the differences between biography and history, Barr and Wentling move to an evaluation of Luke-Acts and conclude, in light of their list of internal and external features, that Luke-Acts does not neatly conform to any of the aforementioned biographical categories.¹⁰⁷ As a result, Barr and Wentling propose that: Luke's "apparent mixing of biographical technique and historical concern is probably best understood as inspired by his regard for the Hebrew scriptures and his social location at the intersection of two cultures."¹⁰⁸ Therefore, Luke-Acts is a mixture of Greco-Roman biography and Hebrew historiography.¹⁰⁹

V.K. Robbins also seeks to find biographic elements in the prefaces of Luke-Acts, by compares the vocabulary, style, and structure of the prefaces with those of other ancient works.¹¹⁰ Overall, Robbins suggests that "the oratorical and epistolary

¹⁰⁵ Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 49.

¹⁰⁶ D.L. Barr and J.L. Wentling, "The Conventions of Classical Biography and the Genre of Luke-Acts: A Preliminary Study," in C.H. Talbert (ed.), *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (New York: Crossroads, 1984), 63-88.

¹⁰⁷ Barr and Wentling, "The Conventions of Classical Biography and the Genre of Luke-Acts," 72-74.

¹⁰⁸ Barr and Wentling, "The Conventions of Classical Biography and the Genre of Luke-Acts," 76.

¹⁰⁹ Barr and Wentling, "The Conventions of Classical Biography and the Genre of Luke-Acts," 75-76. This conclusion is somewhat surprising in that, besides the brief mention of Greek historiography, there is a complete absence of discussion of Hebrew historiography and other Hebrew literary techniques prior to this point. As a result, it is difficult to fully embrace Barr and Wentling's conclusion regarding the genre of Luke-Acts.

¹¹⁰ V.K. Robbins, "Prefaces in Greco-Roman Biography and Luke-Acts," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 6 (1979): 94-108.

features in the Lucan prefaces are more common to biography than to historiography.”¹¹¹ Furthermore, the language originally used in the prefaces reappears in the context of Paul’s defence indicates that Acts is a “didactic biography...used as the medium for a defense of Christianity.”¹¹² It is unfortunate that Robbins does not evaluate other formal features of Acts beyond the preface in order to support his argument that Acts is biography.

Despite her critique of Talbert’s work, Loveday Alexander states that a number of “underlying traditions and patterns of thought” in biography may be of interest for the study of Acts.¹¹³ Alexander compares the portrayal of Paul in Acts with a composite representation of Socrates and concludes that, despite the fact that this type of biography does not exist for Socrates, similar paradigms may have been used by Luke in the creation of his Pauline section.¹¹⁴ Although I appreciate this comparison, there are some issues with Alexander’s approach. In particular, she does not address the first half of the Acts narrative in her comparison of Paul and Socrates. Though this is somewhat understandable, it does represent a serious hurdle for understanding Acts as an individual biography.

The most recent scholar to suggest a biography label for Luke-Acts is Stanley Porter, who begins by raising interpretation questions to three foci of reading: the author, the reader and the work itself.¹¹⁵ After evaluating proposals for Acts as romance and history, and pointing out inherent weaknesses of these proposals, Porter suggests that biography is the ideal genre for Acts because it creates the greatest “generic compatibility between the Gospel and Acts.”¹¹⁶ In order to substantiate this claim, Porter proceeds to discuss a number of formal features within Acts (e.g., speeches, genealogies, sources) that, although they have been used to support the

¹¹¹ Robbins, “Prefaces in Greco-Roman Biography and Luke-Acts,” 107.

¹¹² Robbins, “Prefaces in Greco-Roman Biography and Luke-Acts,” 108. Although Robbins’ article does outline some of the vocabulary and stylistic similarities between Luke-Acts and its literary parallels, he does not explicitly support his claims that particular features that occur in oratory and epistolography are accepted formal features of biographical prefaces. Furthermore, Robbins article would have benefited from a more thorough comparison of a range of biographical texts. This being said, Robbins has provided a helpful starting point for the comparison of Luke-Acts with other biographical texts, and the advancement of his work has the potential to facilitate the labelling of Luke-Acts as biography. For further discussion see chapters 6 and 7 below.

¹¹³ Alexander, “Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography,” 62.

¹¹⁴ Alexander, “Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography,” 62-68.

¹¹⁵ Porter, “The Genre of Acts,” 2.

¹¹⁶ Porter, “The Genre of Acts,” 9.

label of history, are not excluded from biographical works. Although Porter does make some good points within his article, its brevity limits the impact of his argument.

Despite the handful of attempts to view Acts in light of ancient biography, to date there has been no thorough, full-length application of this model to Acts. Overall, these studies have been rather cursory and lacking the necessary depth to map out the nature of the biography genre in the ancient world and its generic diversity. The formal features and function of Acts in comparison with Greco-Roman biography deserve further investigation, and the remainder of this work will endeavour to outline the development of the biography genre and to understand Luke's appropriation of this genre for the creation of Luke-Acts.

Conclusion

This chapter has evaluated major genre labels for Acts over the past century, with a particular focus on the last four decades. Throughout this time, there has been a general agreement that Acts is best understood as history. However, this agreement has recently been challenged. Although this challenge has provoked a deeper investigation and a higher level of academic scrutiny as to the genre of Acts, the question is still debated.

It is no wonder that, baffled by certain unique features of Luke-Acts, some scholars have suggested it is a *sui generis* composition.¹¹⁷ However, as has been expressed by many scholars who have investigated the nature of genre, this label is highly problematic.¹¹⁸ It is clear, however, that one of the primary challenges in the

¹¹⁷ I.H. Marshall, "Acts and the 'Former Treatise'," in Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke (eds.), *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting: Vol. 1 Ancient Literary Setting* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 163-82; A.J.M. Wedderburn, "Zur Frage der Gattung der Apostelgeschichte," in H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger and P. Schäfer (eds.), *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag, III. Frühes Christentum* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 303-22, esp. 319. In discussing Marshall, the term *sui generis* might be too strong of a term in that he does acknowledge literary influences. However, in viewing Luke-Acts as a literary unit Marshall says, "The whole work demonstrates affinities both to historical monographs and to biographies, but it appears to represent a new type of work, of which it is the only example, in which under the shape of a 'scientific treatise' Luke has produced a work which deals with 'the beginnings of Christianity'" (180). Perhaps the term "*unicum* in literature" would be a more apt label (see, Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, 31).

¹¹⁸ E.D. Hirsh, Jr., *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 83, who sees genre as a set of expectations. Regarding the concept of *sui generis*, I completely agree with

above approaches to Acts has been determining the set of literary features that were associated with a particular genre in the ancient world. Although some scholars have delved deeply into the primary literature to create a set of criteria with which to compare Acts, all too often there has only been a cursory comparison with just a handful of literary features before making an assertion of genre categorisation. Furthermore, scholars have often equated thematic or content parallels with genre classifications. This has resulted in much unnecessary confusion.

In order to be able to provide a genre category for Luke-Acts it is vital that a solid foundation of literary and genre theory must first be established. Only after this step will it be possible to venture into the murky waters of genre classification. Chapter three will investigate the nature of genre and how it functioned in ancient cultures.

Burridge's view that claiming a work is *sui generis* betrays a fundamental flaw in understanding literary theory (*What Are the Gospels?*, 33-34, 51).

CHAPTER THREE: MODERN AND ANCIENT GENRE THEORY

As mentioned in chapter one, this study investigates the generic relationship between Acts and collected biographies. Before examining ancient biographies, it is important to formulate an understanding of the nature of ancient and modern genres, as well as how genres function and evolve within cultures. This chapter begins with a discussion of how the ancients understood and described genre, and explores the nature of ancient genres and their hierarchical relationships. In addition, the ancients' view of genre mixing and development will be evaluated with a focus not only on prescriptive statements made by ancient theorists, but also on how these theories were enacted by ancient authors. Following this, we will look at modern genre theory and how it can provide insight into ancient literary culture. This will include an investigation of genre evolution and how changes in power relations influence genres and the writers who make use of them. Finally, this chapter concludes by discussing the way genre will be used for the remainder of this study.

Though this chapter discusses other ancients' theories of genre and not that of Luke's, it still provides an important foundation for the investigation of the genre of Acts. Understanding the literary culture in which a work was penned assists not only in delineating genre but also improves interpretation. This chapter provides an ancient perspective of genre that would have been similar to that of Luke's and identifies the literary issues circulating at the time of his composition. Moreover, the literary features identified in this chapter will set the program for the discussion of genre in chapter five.

Ancient Genre Theory

This section begins with an emic discussion of ancient genre theory, based on the works of Aristotle, Isocrates, Philodemus, Cicero, Horace, and Quintilian. In the first part I will describe how the ancients viewed and discussed genre using their own literary categories, focusing on their theories of genre hierarchies, mixing genres and how they thought genres developed. As few of these authors treat genre

systematically, not every issue is discussed by every author. In these cases, I will limit my comments to the issues discussed.

In part two, I will highlight some of the commonalities found in part one. From the individual discussions I will derive a composite view of how the ancients understood genre, genre components, hierarchy, mixing, and development. These findings will play an important role in shaping how this study will approach genre by providing the parameters by which genre is discussed and the worldview by which the ancients viewed genre. This section, moreover, identifies genre-specific formal features and provides the foundation for our later investigation into Acts.

1. *Ancient Literary Theory*

In order to understand the genre of Acts and its literary relations, it is necessary to understand how ancients viewed genres as Luke's perspective and understanding of genre would have shaped the construction of Acts. This section provides a foundation for the discussion of genre, informed by Greco-Roman literary culture. I begin by describing six ancient authors' perspectives on genre, namely, how they categorised literature, any hierarchy they discussed, whether they thought genre categories could be mixed and if they thought genres could develop. The similarities and differences among these writers' perspectives will then be summarised and evaluated.

1.1. *Aristotle*

The history of genre begins effectively with Plato and Aristotle. In the well-known discussion of the moral effects of poetry in the *Republic*, Plato's Socrates divides literature into three types according to narrative mode: that which presents only speech uttered by characters (i.e., tragedy and comedy), that which presents only the reporting of events by the author (i.e., dithyramb, and lyric in general), and that

which is a mixture of both (i.e., epic).¹ This forms a tripartite generic classification of epic, drama, and lyric.²

Aristotle in the *Poetics* adds to this the idea of appropriateness: each literary genre has an appropriate medium (e.g., prose or verse, metre, music) and appropriate subject-matter (e.g., dignity, realism). Aristotle, furthermore, appears to divide genres by their manner of representation: narrative and dramatic.³ Moreover, Aristotle posits a strong connection between the subject matter of the work and the appropriate metre to be used. Epic, according to Aristotle, requires “heroic verse” (μέτρον τὸ ἡρωικόν), not narrative metres (such as iambic trimeter or trochaic tetrameter which were used for movement).⁴ Similarly, prose is for themes that are less grand, or for the roles of slaves or people of lowly character.⁵

Metre, though it is an important consideration for genre differentiation, is not the only criterion that Aristotle used. For example, Aristotle distinguishes Homer and Empedocles, not because of the metre they employed, which is the same, but based on other aspects, such as subject matter and intention.⁶ Aristotle also differentiates between the historian and the poet, not merely by the use of prose or verse, but because the historian tells about what actually happened and the poet tells the sort of thing that might happen.⁷ Length of the work (μῆκος) is also used to differentiate between the genres of epic and tragedy, which have other formal similarities.⁸

In his discussion of tragedy, Aristotle notes that a tragic work has both particular components and formal, discrete sections. Regarding the definition of tragedy,

¹ διήγησις οὔσα τυγχάνει ἢ γεγονόντων ἢ ὄντων ἢ μελλόντων; Plato, *Resp.* III 392d-394d; Aristotle, *Poet.* 3, 1448a18; Diogenes Laertius 3.50. Other terms might include “lyrical,” “narrative,” or “dramatic.”

² Although Diomedes is a fourth-century author, his generic divisions are still of use and interest as they bear resemblance to Plato, *Resp.* 392d-394d. They are: *Genus commune*: epic, lyric; *genus ennarativum*: perceptive, historical, didactic; *genus dramaticum*: tragic, comic, satiric, mimic.

E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (trans. W.R. Trask; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 439-41.

³ Aristotle, *Poet.* 3, 1448a19-23; cf. Isocrates, *Evag.* 8-11. Herodotus also makes reference to other poetic works according to their metre. Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.12.2; 5.113.2.

⁴ Aristotle, *Poet.* 24, 1459b37-38, τὸ δὲ ἱαμβεῖον καὶ τετράμετρον κινητικὰ καὶ τὸ μὲν ὀρχηστικὸν τὸ δὲ πρακτικόν.

⁵ Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.2.3, 1404b, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ψιλοῖς λόγοις πολλῶ ἐλάττωσιν· ἡ γὰρ ὑπόθεσις ἐλάττων, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐνταῦθα, εἰ δοῦλος καλλιπεῖτο ἢ λίαν νέος, ἀπρεπέστερον, ἢ περὶ λίαν μικρῶν. Dionysius, *Comp.* 3, “no word should be grander than the nature of the ideas.”

⁶ Aristotle, *Poet.* 1, 1447b17-19. οὐδὲν δὲ κοινόν ἐστιν Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ πλὴν τὸ μέτρον, διὸ τὸν μὲν ποιητὴν δίκαιον καλεῖν, τὸν δὲ φυσιολόγον μᾶλλον ἢ ποιητὴν.

⁷ Aristotle, *Poet.* 9, 1451a38-1451b5. ὁ γὰρ ἱστορικὸς καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς οὐ τῷ ἢ ἔμμετρα λέγειν ἢ ἄμμετρα διαφέρουσιν...ἀλλὰ τοῦτῳ διαφέρει, τῷ τὸν μὲν τὰ γενόμενα λέγειν, τὸν δὲ οἷα ἂν γένοιτο.

⁸ Aristotle, *Poet.* 5, 1449b11-16.

Aristotle claims that it “is mimesis of an action which is elevated, complete and of magnitude; in language embellished by distinct forms in its sections; employing the mode of enactment, not narrative; and through pity and fear accomplishing the catharsis of such emotion.”⁹ Of tragedy’s parts, Aristotle states, “Its formal and discrete sections are as follows: prologue, episode, exodus, and choral unit.”¹⁰ Furthermore, Aristotle specifies that tragedy must have six components, which give it its qualities: plot, character, diction, thought, spectacle, and lyric poetry.¹¹ It is the combination of all of these features that Aristotle uses to define and identify tragedy as a genre.

The same is true for Aristotle’s definition of comedy. Here, Aristotle ascribes particular features to comedy, such as the use of masks, prologues, and various numbers of actors (τίς δὲ πρόσωπα ἀπέδωκεν ἢ προλόγους ἢ πλήθη ὑποκριτῶν, *Poet.* 5, 1449b3-4). Though Aristotle laments that neither he nor anyone else knows who first introduced these features to comedy, it is clear that the origin is not of utmost importance. Rather, the consistent use of particular features delineates the comedic genre.

These examples show that Aristotle had a framework by which to identify and differentiate genres including both structural (i.e., length) and content features.¹² Unfortunately, Aristotle was neither thorough in his identification of genre features nor systematic in his delineation of genres. Nevertheless, the features he did mention will help us in our development of genre criteria.

Although identifying genres is important, determining the relationship between genres is equally as important for developing a genre system. One aspect that is clear in Aristotle’s writing is that he is deeply interested in comparing genres in order to determine which one is superior. This is apparent from numerous comments throughout the *Poetics* that discuss genre hierarchy. For example, in the closing chapter of *Poetics* Aristotle argues for the superiority of tragedy over epic (Πότερον

⁹ Aristotle, *Poet.* 6, 1449b23-28.

¹⁰ Aristotle, *Poet.* 12, 1452b15-16.

¹¹ Aristotle, *Poet.* 6, 1450a7-10. ἀνάγκη οὖν πάσης τῆς τραγωδίας μέρη εἶναι ἕξ, καθ’ ὃ ποιά τις ἐστὶν ἡ τραγωδία· ταῦτα δ’ ἐστὶ μῦθος καὶ ἡθὴ καὶ λέξις καὶ διάνοια καὶ ὄψις καὶ μελοποιία.

¹² Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1.3.1-9, 1358b-1359a divides rhetorical forms by the intended audience.

δὲ βελτίων, ἢ ἐποποιικὴ ἢ ἡ τραγικὴ, *Poet.* 26, 1461b25-26).¹³ Likewise, Aristotle claims that comedy's history and origin (unlike tragedy's) were not remembered because no serious interest was taken in that genre (ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔδοκεν, *Poet.* 5, 1449a38). Particularly telling is Aristotle's comment in *Poet.* 9 in which he articulates his preference for poetry (and peripherally philosophy) over history.

It is also evident from what has been said that it is not the poet's function to relate actual events, but the kinds of things that might occur and are possible in terms of probability or necessity. The difference between the historian and the poet is not that between using verse or prose; Herodotus' work could be versified and would be just as much a kind of history in verse as in prose. No, the difference is this: that the one relates actual events, the other the kinds of things that might occur. Consequently, poetry is more philosophical and more elevated than history, since poetry relates more of the universal, while history relates particulars.

These three examples show that Aristotle understood genres to exist in a hierarchical relationship.

Furthermore, genres did not exist in isolation from each other; rather, they existed within a system, with the importance of a particular genre directly related to its function and intentions. This system needed to be strictly delineated, just like aspects of nature. Aristotle drew much inspiration for his understanding of literary forms from nature's systems of organisation. Just as animal classifications were discrete with each animal having its own category, so also each genre had its place and should not encroach upon other genres.¹⁴ The standard example of this belief is Aristotle's comment that one should "avoid turning a tragedy into an epic structure (by "epic" I mean with multiple plot [lines])."¹⁵ Similarly, Aristotle also cautions against mixing (μυγνύοι) metres, such as the mixing of iambic trimeter and trochaic

¹³ For example, Aristotle remarked that tragedy was superior to epic because tragedy had everything that epic had (even metre), but also the addition of music and spectacle, and vividness when performed. Aristotle, *Poet.* 26, 1461b25-1462b15, (εἰ οὖν τούτοις τε διαφέρει πᾶσιν καὶ ἔτι τῷ τῆς τέχνης ἔργῳ...φανερὸν ὅτι κρείττων ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον τοῦ τέλους τυγχάνουσα τῆς ἐποποιίας).

¹⁴ For Aristotle's use of animals as metaphors, see D. Gallop, "Animals in the *Poetics*," in J. Annas (ed.), *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy, Volume VIII* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 145-71.

¹⁵ Aristotle, *Poet.* 18, 1456a11-12. καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν ἐποποιικὸν σύστημα τραγωδίαν—ἐποποιικὸν δὲ λέγω τὸ πολύμυθον.

tetrameter in some of Chaerephon's works¹⁶ or the blending of all metres (ἅπαντα τὰ μέτρα μιγνύων) as Chaerephon did in his *Centaur*.¹⁷

Although Aristotle does not agree with the mixing and adaptation of genres, it is clear that he was aware that genres had developed at some point. For example, in *Poet.* 4 he claims that tragedy came into being through improvisation (αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς). Later in *Poet.* 4 Aristotle indicates that poetry became divided into two distinct forms based the characteristics of the poets: "Poetry branched into two, according to its creators' characters: the more serious produced mimesis of noble actions and the actions of noble people, which the vulgar depicted the actions of the base, in the first place by composing invectives (just as others produced hymns and encomia)."¹⁸

However, in the same section Aristotle claims that "after many changes tragedy ceased to evolve since it had achieved its own nature."¹⁹ This claim is interesting as it suggests that genres were working and developing towards a particular goal. Now that they had achieved this ideal form, their evolution had halted. This view will be discussed further below.

1.2 Isocrates

Unlike Aristotle, we do not have a work by Isocrates that specifically addresses the issue of literary formation. However, there are a number of narrative comments within his corpus that provide insight into his perspective.

Regarding the variety of genre forms, Isocrates claims that there are as many branches of composition in prose as there are in poetry (Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνο δεῖ μαθεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὅτι τρόποι τῶν λόγων εἰσὶν οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ τῶν μετὰ μέτρου ποιημάτων. *Antid.* 45). Following this remark Isocrates provides a brief typology of prose works, including genealogies of demi-gods (τὰ γένη τὰ τῶν ἡμιθέων), studies of the poets (περὶ τοῦς ποιητὰς), histories of war (τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις), and dialogue (τὰς ἐρωτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις).

¹⁶ Aristotle, *Poet.* 24, 1460a1

¹⁷ Aristotle, *Poet.* 1, 1447b20-22.

¹⁸ Aristotle, *Poet.* 4, 1448b24-28, Russell.

¹⁹ Aristotle, *Poet.* 4, 1449a14-15, καὶ πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλοῦσα ἡ τραγῳδία ἐπαύσατο, ἐπεὶ ἔσχε τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν.

In *Panath.* 1-2 Isocrates opens his oratory with a discussion of various discourses he decided as a child not to write:

When I was younger, I elected not to write the kind of discourse which deals with myths (μυθώδεις) nor that which abounds in marvels (τερατείας) and fictions (ψευδολογίας), although the majority of people are more delighted with this literature than with that which is devoted to their welfare and safety, nor did I choose the kind which recounts the ancient deeds (παλαιὰς πράξεις) and wars (πολέμους) of the Hellenes, although I am aware that this is deservedly praised, nor, again, that which gives the impression of having been composed in a plain and simple manner and is lacking in all the refinements of style, which those who are clever at conducting law-suits urge our young men to cultivate, especially if they wish to have the advantage over their adversaries (Norlin).

In the above passages Isocrates names different categories of prose writing that he identifies as evident in his lifetime (e.g., genealogy, poetic commentary, military history, sophistic argument, legal texts, mythology, speeches, etc.). Isocrates, in mentioning these literary forms, was not proposing a strict or rigid schema of genre. Rather, we see that, like the forms of poetry, the *ιδέας τὰς τῶν λόγων* (now denoted prose “genres”) are virtually innumerable and he has no intention of providing a full listing of them.²⁰

Though most of Isocrates’ references to prose genres are in list form and lack formal comparison, in *Hel. enc.* 14-15 he attempts to differentiate between two related genres through reference to specific genre features.

Nevertheless, even he [Gorgias?] committed a slight inadvertence—for although he asserts that he has written an encomium of Helen, it turns out that he has actually spoken a defence of her conduct. But the composition in defence does not draw upon the same topics as the encomium, nor indeed does it deal with actions of the same kind, but quite the contrary; for a plea in defence is appropriate only when the defendant is charged with a crime, whereas we praise those who excel in some good quality (Van Hook).

Here we see that Isocrates assigns specific features and functions to different genres.²¹ In this case there is a clear difference in purpose between an encomium

²⁰ Isocrates, *Anti.* 45; Y.L. Too, *The Rhetoric of Identity in Isocrates: Text, Power, Pedagogy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 20-21.

²¹ An interesting comment of an unknown author recorded by Quintilian *Inst.* 3.4.11 states, “Isocrates held that praise and blame find a place in every genre (*omni genere*).”

and a defence, as the latter is used only when someone has been charged with a crime, whereas the former is used to praise rather than defend.²²

In light of these passages it is safe to posit that, although a systematic treatment of genre is absent in his work, Isocrates does have a genre system and set of categories from which he works. Foundationally, there is a sharp break between prose and poetry (*Antid.* 45). At the higher levels, these two broad categories are further differentiated through the use of topic, setting, and purpose, as indicated by *Hel. enc.* 14-15.

Isocrates has much less to say regarding the inter-relatedness of genres within the system, completely omitting any explicit discussion of genre hierarchy. There is, however, one passage that may provide some insight: *Antidosis* 47-49 recounts the different societal views of those who write rhetorical speeches and those who write certain types of prose. The former are only spoken well of in court, whereas the latter, those who have pursued wisdom in philosophy, are honoured and held in high esteem in every society in every time. Although this is not a clear hierarchy in which Isocrates claims the dominance of one genre over another, Isocrates' disdain for the work of demagogic politicians who tear down rather than build up is noteworthy (cf. *Antid.* 312).

Regarding genre development, Isocrates makes two comments that are important. In *Antid.* 1 Isocrates states that his speech is novel and unique in character (διὰ τὴν καινότητα καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν), unlike any other. This novelty is based primarily on the selection of a subject which has not been attempted before (*Antid.* 3). Not only does Isocrates claim to have selected a new subject for this genre, he also pleads for the reader's patience for a work with a "mixed discourse" (μικτοῦ τοῦ λόγου) and multiple purposes (ὑποθέσεις, *Antid.* 12).

The best known passage for discussing genre development, however, is Isocrates' claim in *Evagoras* 8:

I am fully aware that what I propose to do is difficult—to eulogize in prose (διὰ λόγων ἐγκωμιάζειν) the virtues of a man. The best proof is this: Those who devote themselves to philosophy venture to speak on many subjects of every kind, but no one of them has ever attempted to compose a discourse on

²² In her study of Isocrates' corpus, Yun Lee Too argues that Isocrates articulates a well-developed perspective of genre that is tied to rhetorical situations. Furthermore, Isocrates' "unsystematic naming of genres" treats different genres in terms of their different purposes. Too, *Rhetoric of Identity*, 19-21.

such a theme (περὶ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδεὶς πώποτ' αὐτῶν συγγράφειν ἐπεχείρησεν).

Not only does Isocrates show awareness of the standard features of encomium, he also displays a realization that he is intentionally breaking the traditional confines of that genre. This intentionality shows Isocrates' ingenuity as an author and also provides an example of how genres develop. Further, that Isocrates felt free to expand the generic boundaries of encomium shows that his view of genre was not fixed, but flexible, and that genres could be used in new and unique ways.²³

1.3 Philodemus

Outside of the discussion above, the treatment of literary theory is notoriously thin in the Hellenistic era. Although it is likely that the Peripatetics and other writers in these centuries would have discussed literary genres and their differences, there is little trace of it remaining today. However, the finds at Herculaneum, particularly the works of Philodemus, have begun to dispel some of our ignorance.

Philodemus' *De poematis* takes the form of ὑπομνήματα, offering a critical review of the opinions of his predecessors. Book 1 of *De poematis* provides an overview of literary theories which privileged the aural effect of verse over the content of the work. Having outlined these theories, Philodemus proceeds with an extended rebuttal which continues until the end of Book 2. A similar format is followed in Book 5, although on a smaller scale. Unfortunately, this work is highly fragmentary and, as a result, a number of Philodemus' comments and arguments have been lost. Nevertheless, there are a few passages, particularly in *De poematis* 1 that will contribute to our discussion of ancient genre.

In *De poem.* 1.61.16-27, Philodemus reports that some (i.e., Pausimachus) view genre as being indicated by the musical configuration (σχηματισμὸν ἐμ[μελῆ] of language and not dictated by the subject matter (ὑπ]οκειμένων). Although much of this passage is lost, Philodemus specifically references heroic epic and other poetic genres (ll. 16-18), suggesting that they should be viewed as distinct genre forms. A similar discussion is picked up later in Book 1:

²³ Too (*Rhetoric of Identity*, 33) argues that rhetorical discourses are treated by Isocrates as “mobile and fluid”.

For poets of lampoon compose tragic (verses) and conversely tragic poets compose lampoons, and Sappho composes some (verses) in the manner of lampoon, and Archilochus (some) not in the manner of lampoon. Hence one must say that a composer of iambus or some other genre (γένος) (exists) not by nature (φύσει), but by convention (νόμῳ); but poets (compose) by nature when they name (things) by coming upon the word that is nobly born, primary, and entirely appropriate, and when in every genre of verse, both what is well composed and what is badly composed, the same argument holds; for the (poet) who invents... [text breaks off here] (1.117.7-26, Janko).

This passage concludes with the same discussion mentioned above in 1.61, that the proper creation of sound is of primary importance in poetic literature.²⁴ More important for our study, however, are two comments. First, Philodemus delineates genres by using ancient authors as examples and points of reference. Philodemus suggests that authors in general differentiate between tragic poems and lampoons, although sometimes the same author might compose both. Second, and most importantly, Philodemus claims that a composer of iambus or some other genre exists not by nature, but by convention, νόμῳ (1.117.13-16). This reference to convention is essential as it indicates that at least one ancient explicitly understood genres as socially constructed entities. Though nature is necessary for the composition of poetry and other forms of literature, social convention provides the means by which genres are differentiated.

There are two other passages in Book 1 that contribute to this study's discussion of genre differentiation, hierarchy, and mixing. Both of these passages are part of Philodemus' outlining of Pausimachus' views, though Philodemus' refutation is unfortunately missing. Nonetheless, what is important is that ancient literary critics in the first century BC (i.e., Philodemus and Pausimachus) show awareness of and debate certain literary topics.

"It will make no difference," he [Pausimachus] says "even if we match Archilochus, Euripides, or anyone else against Homer, if we juxtapose only the praiseworthy diction of either with his. For it is not because tragedy, iambus, and lyric are in some way a different (genre), that we shall match one

²⁴ Cf. P.Herc. 994, col. 21.6-10. *De poem.* 1.170.16-19, however, does suggest that content is important.

poet against another from another genre, since the end is the same for every genre...” (1.77.8-22, Janko).

This is view of Pausimachus is reinforced a few columns later:

So, [Pausimachus], after promising a proof that “the good poets excel and they alone endure on no other account than the sounds,” and after saying that “I have established elsewhere that only Homer, Archilochus, and Euripides are doing the same thing, and in addition to them Sophocles and Philoxenus, and likewise Timotheus too mixing (μίσγων) their verses,” (he says) “I shall now discuss sounds themselves...” (1.83.9-24, Janko).

Although these two passages differentiate genres through the citation of particular authors, Pausimachus argues that, despite writing different genres, all poets have the same aim: to use words and sounds to please the reader.²⁵ As all authors make use of the same words; it is their use of λέξις, diction, that differentiates them.

In 1.77.9-15, there is an explicit comparison between genre-representative authors. Although it is not genre that is specifically in focus here, Pausimachus carefully references genre as an important consideration in comparing these writers. This comparison by Pausimachus is intended to undermine the generic differences by which these writers’ works are interpreted. Pausimachus presents a blurred genre system, lacking differentiation and hierarchy. This perspective is challenged by Philodemus, who not only adheres to a differentiation of poetic genres, but also ranks genres and argues for the superiority of philosophy over poetry, particularly in expressing ideas about god.²⁶

Finally, Pausimachus claims that many ancient authors, including Sophocles, Philoxenus and Timotheus, mix their verses (τὰ ποιήματ’ αὐτῶν μίσγων, 1.77.21-22). A similar claim occurs in 1.205.19-22, where Philodemus cites Heracleodorus’ declaration that “in comedies there are mingled verse-forms from lampoons.” The supporting of mixed-verse works reinforces the view that Pausimachus did not rigidly differentiate between prose genres. Although not to the same extent, Philodemus also notes that genres cannot be rigidly differentiated. As N.A. Greenberg argues, “Philodemus has attempted to show that the various genres are not

²⁵ This view is extended by Heracleodorus, who claims that there is no distinction in poetic genres. For this argument and Philodemus’ refutation, see *De poem.* 1.192.13—193.3.

²⁶ Philodemus, *On Music* 4.142.3-19. Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 108.10.

rigidly distinguished and that the poetic element is common to them all. Hence, one may seek general criteria for the excellence of poetry, without regard for the individual genres of poetry. This last is the program of [*On Poems*] Book 5.”²⁷ This view finds support in *De poem.* 4.5.20-24 in which Philodemus notes that some epic poets have lines styled in a tragic fashion and some tragedians have styled lines comically.

1.4 Cicero

Greek writers were not the only ones to study literary theory. By the second century BC some Latin writers also discussed genre theory, as is evidenced in the fragment of Accius’ *Didascalica*: “For know, Baebius, how different are the types of poems, and how widely differentiated they are each from the other” (*nam quam varia sunt genera poematorum, Baebi, quamque longe distincta alia ab aliis, <sis>, nosce*, Dangel, fr. 8). However, it is Cicero’s works that essentially mark the beginning of this Latin enquiry.

Although primarily discussing the nature of oratory and the different kinds of orators, Cicero comments on poetic genres at the commencement of *de Optimo Genere Oratorum*:

It is said that there are various kinds of orators as there are of poets. But the fact is otherwise, for poetry takes many forms. That is to say, every composition in verse, tragedy, comedy, epic, and also melic and dithyrambic (a form more extensively cultivated by Greeks than by Romans) has its own individuality, distinct from the others. So in tragedy a comic style is a blemish, and in comedy the tragic style is unseemly; and so with the other genres, each has its own tone and a way of speaking which the scholars recognize (*Opt. gen.* 1, Hubbell).²⁸

Although brief, this discussion of poetic genre has much we can glean from it. First, Cicero provides a select (likely not exhaustive) list of poetic genres, which include

²⁷ N.A. Greenberg, “The Poetic Theory of Philodemus,” (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1955), 129.

²⁸ Cicero, *Opt. gen.* 1, *Oratorum genera esse dicuntur tamquam poetarum; id secus est, nam alterum est multiplex. Poematis enim tragici, comici, epici, melici, etiam ac dithyrambici, quod magis est tractatum a Graecis quam a Latinis, suum cuiusque est, diversum a reliquis. Itaque et in tragoedia comicum vitiosum est et in comoedia turpe tragicum; et in ceteris suus est cuique certus sonus et quaedam intelligentibus nota vox.*

tragedy, comedy, epic, melic, and dithyrambic. Furthermore, although no details are given as to how they differ, Cicero claims each genre is distinct from the others (*diversum a reliquis*), having its own individuality. In other words, each genre has a particular set of features that distinguishes it from its neighbours.²⁹

In *Opt. gen.* 2 Cicero once again discusses different poetic genres, this time associating each one with a model Latin example: “One may call Ennius supreme in epic, if he thinks that is true, Pacuvius in tragedy and Caecilius, perhaps, in comedy.” The listing of only Latin examples, particularly in regards to epic, is unique. That Cicero limits the discussion in *Opt. gen.* 2 to Latin authors and only references Greek examples in *Opt. gen.* 6 indicates that Cicero had a view of genre that was culturally informed. Particularly interesting in this regard is Cicero’s statement in *Opt. gen.* 1 that dithyrambic poetry is more cultivated by the Greeks than by the Romans. This claim indicates a cultural awareness that not only recognises cultural preference, but also cultural superiority relating to particular genres.

Furthermore, the order that Cicero lists these genres—epic, tragedy, comedy—may indicate a hierarchical relationship as this discussion is contained within a debate over what makes the best orator in which the orators are ranked (3-4).³⁰ Though this hierarchy is not confirmed in his other writings, it does parallel hierarchies given by other ancient authors.

Finally, related to the identification of genres is Cicero’s admonishment that, as genres are individual, they should therefore be kept distinct. Cicero warns against blending genre features and uses an example from the genres of comedy and tragedy. This standard example advises against poets’ mixing characteristic features, which would only result in inferior works. Though illustrated only by one exemplar, the principle of this example is applicable to all genres.

1.5 Horace

Horace’s *Ars Poetica* is an important work on ancient literature, though it is not a treatise on literary composition.³¹ It is rather a letter written to Pisos regarding

²⁹ Cicero, *Opt. gen.* 15, “For it is one thing to set forth events in an historical narrative and another to present arguments to clinch a case against an opponent.”

³⁰ Cf. Cicero, *De or.* 4-6, which references poetry, philosophy, and orator in order.

³¹ Despite being called *Ars Poetica* by most ancient writers (e.g., Quintilian *Inst.* 8.3.60) and a majority of manuscripts it is unlikely that this is the original title, but a later interpretation.

poetry and related concerns. Accordingly, we do not find in it a systematic treatment of literature or a thorough comparison of literary forms. Nevertheless, there are a number of statements in this and other works by Horace that provide insight into his perspective of genre.

For this discussion the primary passage that will be discussed is *Ars* 73-98:

res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella
 quo scribi possent numero, monstrauit Homerus.
 versibus impariter iunctis querimonia primum, 75
 post etiam inclusa est uoti sententia compos;
 quis tamen exiguos elegos emisit auctor,
 grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est.
 Archilochum proprio rabies armauit iambo;
 hunc socci cepere pedem grandesque coturni, 80
 alternis aptum sermonibus et popularis
 uincentem strepitus et natum rebus agendis.
 Musa dedit Vdibus diuos puerosque deorum
 et pugilem uictorem et equom certamine primum
 et iuuenum curas et libera uina referre. 85
 descriptas seruare uices operumque colores
 cur ego, si nequeo ignoroque, poeta salutor?
 cur nescire pudens praue quam discere malo?
 versibus exponi tragicis res comica non uult;
 indignatur item priuatis ac prope socco 90
 dignis carminibus narrari cena Thyestae.
 singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decentem.
 interdum tamen et uocem comoedia tollit,
 iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore
 et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri, 95
 Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exul uterque
 proicit ampullas et sesquipedalia uerba,
 si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querella.³²

Histories of kings and generals, dreadful wars: it was Homer who showed in what metre these could be narrated. Lines unequally yoked in pairs formed the setting first for lamentations, [75] then for the expression of a vow fulfilled; though who first sent these tiny 'elegies' into the world is a grammarians' quarrel and still *sub iudice*. Madness armed Archilochus with its own iambus; that too was the foot that the comic sock and buskin held, [80] because it was suitable for dialogue, able to subdue the shouts of the mob, and intended by nature for a life of action. To the lyre, the Muse granted the celebration of gods and the children of gods, victorious boxers, winning race-horses, young men's love, and generous wine. [85] If I have neither the ability nor the knowledge to keep the duly assigned functions and tones of

³² Brink, *Horace*, 160.

literature, why am I hailed as a poet? Why do I prefer to be ignorant than learn, out of sheer false shame? A comic subject will not be set out in tragic verse; likewise, the Banquet of Thyestes disdains being told in poetry of the private kind [90], that borders on the comic stage. Everything must keep the appropriate place to which it was allotted. Nevertheless, comedy does sometimes raise her voice, and angry Chremes penetrates with swelling eloquence. Often too Telephus and Peleus in tragedy lament in prosaic language, [95] when they are both poor exiles and throw away their bombast and words half a yard long, if they are anxious to touch the spectator's heart with their complaint.³³

Horace sees a strong connection between the subject matter of the work and the appropriate metre to be used.³⁴ Metre and subject are closely linked and should not be experimented with. For example, "A theme for comedy refuses to be set forth in verses of tragedy" (*Ars* 89). Likewise, Horace implores, "Let each style keep the singular place for which it is suited" (*Ars* 92).³⁵ Such comments suggest that Horace has a rigid view of genre; however, as will be discussed below, he does allow some room for movement.

Second, Horace cites a number of different genres and their metrical pairings: wars fit hexameters and epic, lamentations and offerings elegiacs, abuse iambics, tragic and comic dialogue iambics, and lyric a range of topics including Horace's *Odes*.³⁶ These forms are clearly deemed to be part of a natural, accepted, and prescriptive generic taxonomy that poets are to both recognise and observe.³⁷

Besides these general comments, Horace also provides more detailed outlines of specific genres. In discussing plays, Horace cautions that a play should only have five acts, no more and no fewer (*Ars* 189). Moreover, a play should only have three speakers on the stage at one time and should make proper use of the chorus and the flute (*Ars* 190-205). In discussing the nature of comedy in *Ep.* 2.1.168-75, Horace

³³ D.A. Russell and M. Winterbottom, *Ancient Literary Criticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 281.

³⁴ Horace, *Sat.* 1.10.56-61 discusses how Lucilius' selection of a harsh-natured theme detracts from the ease of listening.

³⁵ Cf. Ovid, *Amores* 1.1.1-4 who is quite aware of metre-genre pairing and intentionally plays with this idea: "I was preparing to utter in solemn rhythm of arms and violent wars, my subject-matter fitting my metre. The second line was of the same length: Cupid (they say) laughed and stole one foot away" (*Arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam edere, materia conveniente modis. par erat inferior versus: risisse Cupido dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem*).

³⁶ Cf. *Sat.* 1.10.40-49

³⁷ S.J. Harrison, *Generic Enrichment in Virgil and Horace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 5-6.

highlights the point that the subject for comedy is drawn from everyday life circumstances. This is followed by a report that some people in his time were claiming that, because a comedy takes its subject from life examples, it requires less labour to compose. Horace challenges this claim by identifying the difficulties of writing comedies for the public (182-213). Horace laments the lack of respect given to comedy writers, grieving that crowds only want spectacles. This demand for extreme visual displays had resulted in the comedic genre adopting more lavish and larger props.

One particular genre feature that Horace emphasises is the opening of a work. Cautioning his young listeners, Horace implores them not to be too boastful or too long-winded at the beginning of a work. Rather, one should look to Homer as an example, who, after a brief overture to the Muse, hastens to the story's midst as if it were already known to the hearer.³⁸ A brief opening assists the reader in engaging with the main portion of the work and does not tax the reader's patience. Moreover, the opening sentence sets the stage for the remainder of the work, preparing the reader for what is to come.

Though Horace does not provide a systematic outline of poetic genres, he does reference a number of genre forms. Of particular interest are Horace's musings on whether comedy and satire are forms of poetry: *Comoedia necne poema* (*Sat.* 1.4.45); *alias iustum sit necne poema* (*Sat.* 1.4.63). This question betrays a systematic understanding of genre that recognises that particular features are associated with particular genres.

This recognition of a system in which genres interact facilitates the discussion of genre hierarchy. Though Horace does not explicitly discuss the nature of genre hierarchy, he does realise that not all readers have the same preferences in literature.³⁹ For example, in *Sat.* 1.4.24 Horace claims that "this style [i.e., satire] is abhorrent to some, inasmuch as most merit censure" (*quod sunt quos genus hoc minime iuvat, utpote pluris culpari dignos*, Fairclough). The most important passage for understanding Horace's view of hierarchy is *Ep.* 2.2.58-60: "Then, not everyone admires or likes the same works: you rejoice in lyric, another delights in iambic, yet

³⁸ Horace, *Ars* 136-52. For his example Horace cites Homer, *Od.* 1.1.

³⁹ "All men do not have the same tastes and likes" (*denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque*), after which he references lyric song, iambics, and satires (*Ep.* 2.2.58-60).

another in the sermones in the style of Bion and their dark biting humour” (*denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque: carmine tu gaudes, hic delectatur iambis, ille Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro*). In interpreting this passage, Harrison argues that this provides a brief hierarchy of Horace’s works:

Horace, for his part, begins with satiric *sermo*, represented as not even poetry, passes through the transitional stage of iambus in the *Epodes*, a lowly first-person form, and rises to the loftier tones of lyric in the first three books of *Odes*. This hierarchy comes out clearly in statements in the *Epistles*, which look back on the ‘completed’ Horatian poetic career: *Ep.* 1.19 omits the *Satires* but claims originality in the *Epodes* and *Odes* (in that order: 1.19.23–4), while *Ep.* 2.2 cites the three main Horatian genres, claiming that each finds its own enthusiasts, but in fact preserving generic hierarchy in inverse order, with *sermo* as the climax since it is the form in which he is actually writing these lines.⁴⁰

S. Oberhelman and D. Armstrong detect a stronger hierarchy in Horace’s writings: “Satire, like comedy, falls into the middle of a hierarchy of genres: mimes and fables (*Satires* 10.5bff.) occupy the lowest position; epic, tragedy, and lyric, the highest (*Satires* 4.56b-62).”⁴¹

Still another example comes from *Ep.* 2.1.118-38, which relates the role of the author to the broader culture. In this section Horace makes a plea to Augustus to recognise that poets are a vital part of society’s well-being. Their works, which are memorised by children, instil high moral values that are necessary for the longevity of the Roman Empire. It is the poets, not prose writers, who provide the greatest services to Rome and so should be held in the highest regard (cf. 245-47).

Regarding genre mixing and development, Horace expresses that genres should be kept distinct.⁴² For example, in *Ars Poetica* 372-73 Horace asserts that moderating poets, ones who are between poetic forms, are not accepted by men, gods or booksellers (*mediocribus esse poetis non homines, non di, non concessere columnae*).⁴³ Horace continues by comparing this mixed poetry to an orchestra that

⁴⁰ Harrison, *Generic Enrichment*, 9. Harrison also suggests that the order of genres listed in *Ars* 73-98 is another hierarchy in descending order, beginning with Homer’s epic.

⁴¹ S. Oberhelman and D. Armstrong, “Satire as Poetry and the Impossibility of *Meathesis* in Horace’s *Satires*,” in D. Obbink (ed.), *Philodemus and Poetry: Poetic Theory and Practice in Lucretius, Philodemus, and Horace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 233-54, 234.

⁴² Horace, *Ars* 119 (*Aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge*).

⁴³ Cf. Horace, *Ep.* 2.2.58-64.

is out of tune (*symphonia discors*, *Ars* 374), and laments that unskilled writers dare to frame verses (*Ars* 382).

At the same time, however, Horace identifies the historical beginnings of particular genres and discusses how particular poets radically changed genres. For example, Homer's contribution to epic was to show that the exploits of kings and captains and the sorrows of war should be recounted in dactylic hexameter (*Ars* 74-75). Horace also discusses who first formed the elegiac couplet for prayer and who was the first to compose a full elegiac (*Ars* 76-78). The answers to these questions are not important; what is important is that Horace recognises that there was a time that these forms were not in existence and that someone, through some form of inspiration, thought to produce them (so also, *Sat.* 1.10.40-49).⁴⁴ Such a view is also present in *Ars* 275-84 in which Horace outlines the development of tragedy. According to Horace, Thespis discovered tragedy (*tragicae genus*) to which Aeschylus added masks, robes, and a stage (275-80). From this genre came Old Comedy (*vetus comoedia*, 281), although in its development its freedom was taken to excess.

Horace not only acknowledges that genres have origins in the past, but also acts as if generic development was continuing in his day. Horace claims that poets in his day had left no style untried (*Nil intemptatum nostri liquere poerae*, 285). He even claims that Lucilius had created a new style (satire) that had not been touched by the Greeks (*Sat.* 1.10.65-67). Comments such as these appear to undermine Horace's earlier statement in *Ars* 91 that "everything must keep the appropriate place to which it was allotted."

Horace's most notable statement on genre mixing is his admission that genres may (sometimes) incorporate elements from other genres for special effect (*Ars* 93-94).⁴⁵ In these lines Horace claims that there are occasions in which certain features of tragedy can be incorporated into comedy, and vice versa. This buried statement, though it does not undermine the prior statements, does open the door for some generic blending. This will be discussed further below.

⁴⁴ The role of *auctores*, or the attachment of ancient and authoritative names to a particular genre, is well known in Post-Aristotelian literary theory. Harrison, *Generic Enrichment*, 6.

⁴⁵ Harrison, *Generic Enrichment*, 6.

1.6 Quintilian

Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* is a key work for unlocking an understanding of rhetorical education in the early Roman Empire. Though he primarily focuses on the many facets of rhetoric, Quintilian, in a desire for thoroughness, also discusses varieties of Greek and Latin literature that students should study at different stages in their education. These comments form the foundation of our reconstruction of Quintilian's theory of genre.

Throughout his work Quintilian outlines a reading program indicating which genres and authors should be read at each educational stage. For example, while they are in the *grammaticus*, students should read Homer, Virgil, tragedy, lyric poets, and Cicero, while comedy and other similar genres should be read once students are older.⁴⁶ Similarly, in the school of *rhetor*, students should focus, in addition to Homer and Virgil, on history and oratory, reading the best authors and avoiding those that are either too archaic or too new.⁴⁷ Finally, and most importantly for understanding ancient genre, once these students have graduated and are attempting to become orators there is a particular reading regime that Quintilian outlines. Quintilian begins by providing examples of Greek authors and works based on genre groups (10.1.46-84), opening with a discussion of different poetry forms: hexameter (i.e., epic, 46-57) elegy (58-59), iambic (59-60), and lyric (61-64). Following this Quintilian examines old comedy (65-66), tragedy (67-68), new comedy (69-72), history (73-75), oratory (76-80), and philosophy (81-84).⁴⁸ This is immediately followed by a list of Roman authors according to the same categories.⁴⁹

Although Quintilian was not being prescriptive or systematic in his generic divisions, his division of texts into these categories provides insight into his perspective on genre. Once again we see a tendency to differentiate works by mode, dividing ancient literature by metre. It is apparent in Quintilian's discussion,

⁴⁶ Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.8.5-11, *Ideoque optime institutum est, ut ab Homero atque Vergilio lectio inciperet.*

⁴⁷ Quintilian, *Inst.* 2.5.1, 19-23.

⁴⁸ A similar category of genres was presented in *Inst.* 1.8.5-11 listing: epic, tragedy, elegiacs, comedy, orations.

⁴⁹ For the Roman discussion, see *Inst.* 10.1.85-131. Here Quintilian includes most of the Greek genre categories, but with some differences: hexameter (i.e., epic, 85-92) elegy (93-94), satire (95), iambic (96), tragedy (97-98), comedy (99-100), history (101-104), oratory (105-122), and philosophy (123-131).

however, that metre was not the *only* means of distinguishing a work. For example, Quintilian divides narratives into three classifications (fictitious, realistic, historical) based on their relationship with truth. Quintilian also attaches genres to each group; comedy is matched with fictitious, tragedy with realistic, and history with historical.⁵⁰

Not only are the overarching categories that Quintilian delineates interesting, but his comments regarding categories in which Greek literature excelled its Latin counterparts are insightful. For example, in *Inst.* 10.1.99 Quintilian confesses, “In the field of comedy, we are at our lamest,” (*In comoedia maxime claudicamus*). Likewise, in *Inst.* 10.1.123, Quintilian laments, “There remain writers on philosophy, a genre in which Roman literature has so far produced few eloquent authors” (*Supersunt qui de philosophia scripserint, quo in genere paucissimos adhuc eloquentes litterae Romanae tulerunt*).⁵¹ By these comments Quintilian exhibits substantial cultural awareness regarding the differences between Greek and Latin literature and culture.⁵² Furthermore, Quintilian is aware, not only of differences, but also how Greek and Roman literary cultures interact. For example, in *Inst.* 10.1.96 Quintilian notes that, unlike Greek writers, Roman authors have not found iambic popular enough to use it as a separate form of composition. Rather, it is to be found mixed up in other forms of Latin verse.⁵³ Such comments indicate that Quintilian was aware of the strong cultural competition between Greeks and Romans and that their respective preferences in literary forms were shaping their rankings of genre categories.

Quintilian’s work is imbued with authorial and literary rankings. The best example is in book 10 (provided above) where Quintilian outlines the different literary genres for orators to read. This list (poetry [epic, elegiac, iambic, lyric], comic, tragic, history, oratory, philosophy) is expressly structured on what is best for future orators and is not comprehensive.⁵⁴ In other passages, Quintilian suggests that history and oratory are the most important genres for consideration (*Inst.* 2.5.19-20;

⁵⁰ Quintilian, *Inst.* 2.4.2.

⁵¹ Quintilian, however, does proceed to mention Cicero and Brutus, among others.

⁵² Regarding differences in educational practices, see *Inst.* 1.4.1-2; 1.9.6; 1.10.1; 2.1.13.

⁵³ *Iambus non sane a Romanis celebratus est ut proprium opus, sed aliis quibusdam interpositus.*

⁵⁴ Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.45) that he “will now proceed to deal with the various classes of reading which I consider most suitable for those who are ambitious of becoming orators” (*Sed nunc genera ipsa lectionum, quae praecipue convenire intendentibus ut oratores fiant, existimem, persequar*).

2.7.2). Quintilian is also clear that Homer and Virgil are invaluable for any literate person and should be read and re-read (*Inst.* 1.8.5). Quintilian, furthermore, recognises that other people have their own canons and hierarchies which are also valid (*Inst.* 1.4.3).

Quintilian has a conservative perspective on the mixing and blending of genres. Opposing Horace's argument in *Ars Poetica* 93-94 that paratragedy is possible in comedy and paracomedy in tragedy, Quintilian espouses a more conservative view: Each genre has its own rules and proprieties. Comedy does not rise high on tragic buskins, nor does tragedy stroll about in the slippers of comedy (*suo cuique proposito lex, suus decor est: nec comoedia in coturnos adsurgit, nec contra tragoedia socco ingreditur*, *Inst.* 10.2.22). Similarly, in *Inst.* 10.1.99, Quintilian laments that Terence's blending of iambic trimeter undermined his elegance, a comment suggesting that, though metre was not the sole characteristic of genre, proper metre was determinate of *good* and appropriate writing in some genres.

2. Aggregation of Ancient Literary Theory

In the section above we outlined six ancient authors' views on literary theory. In this section we will draw together some trends and commonalities found above to form a composite picture of ancient genre theory. These findings will be divided into three sections. The first will list and evaluate the specific criteria ancients used to categorise genres. These criteria will be helpful in forming our genre criteria to be developed in chapter five. The second part will investigate genre hierarchies paying special attention to differences identified by Greek and Latin writers. The final section will discuss how the ancients viewed genre fluidity and development. Here we will recall the claims made by authors above and also evaluate actual practices to show that literary practices did not always adhere to prescriptive theory.

2.1 Genre Features According to the Ancients

In this section we are particularly interested in the formal features that the ancients viewed as definitive for genre identity. Although the lack of systematic study by the ancients prevents us from developing an exhaustive list of genre features, the

components identified above will go a long way in the creation of our genre criteria used in chapter five.

The identification and use of formal features (structure and content) to delineate genres is foundational to this study and for understanding ancient genre theory. As seen above, the ancients made specific reference to identifiable text components as earmarkers for genres. Not all genre features were equally weighted; certain elements were seen as more genre distinctive than others. These principal components were discussed at greater length, whereas less important facets did not receive substantial treatment. Moreover, one feature was often insufficient for applying a genre label; rather, multiple formal features were called upon to identify a work's genre. Recognising that the ancients made use of these features provides a tangible means of genre evaluation and provides support for this study's methodology.

First, genres are fundamentally divided into two large divisions based on the use of metre: poetry and narrative.⁵⁵ For, as Dionysius claims, "every utterance by which we express our thoughts is either in metre or not in metre" (ἡ μὲν ἔμμετρος, ἡ δὲ ἄμμετρος, *Comp.* 3). Poetry as a whole is further subdivided into modal categories (e.g., hexameter, iambic, trochaic tetrameter), whose metres are explicitly paired with poetic genre forms. This explicit pairing of metred poetry and genre type helps the reader immediately identify the genre he or she is reading. Conversely, narrative prose lacks modal subdivisions.

In lieu of such a discrete, metred system, the ancients often evaluated and subcategorized prose narratives in stylistic terms. Style is typically divided into three broad categories: high, middle, and low (or grand, middle, and plain). These

⁵⁵ Though moderns use the term "genre" when discussing the theories of Aristotle and other ancients, it would be a misunderstanding to see the ancients' division of texts, as generic divisions. Rather, these are "modes" of communication and fall under the linguistic purview of pragmatics.⁵⁵ Modes, in contradistinction to genres, are formal and do not deal with content, whereas genre can be defined by a specification of content in addition to form. G. Genette, "The Architext," in Duff (ed.), *Modern Genre Theory*, 210-18, 212. For a good introduction to pragmatics, see S.C. Levinson, *Pragmatics* (CTL; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Cairns makes an important point in noting that writers in early antiquity would have made use of Homeric literary features and patterns, and wrote in particular genres that may not have had any official names until they were categorized by rhetoricians in later antiquity. Consequently, strict generic divisions for this time are not possible. F. Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1972), 70-71.

divisions are not rigid, however, and are subjective.⁵⁶ The labelling and distinguishing of styles is complicated and depends on a large number of components. Furthermore, there is no strict division between styles, which introduces greater subjectivity.

Intimately related to metre or style is the subject of a work. For poetry, the ancients held that particular metres are lyrical representations of certain subjects and that it is a mistake not to pair a metre with its corresponding subject. For example, Horace (*Ars* 89) states that “a theme for comedy refuses to be set forth in verses of tragedy.” Epic, according to Aristotle, requires “heroic verse” (μέτρον τὸ ἡρωικόν, *Poet.* 24). Propertius (*Elegy* 2.1.39–42; 3.3.15–24) and Ovid (*Fasti* 2.125–26) both reject epic subject-matter as too “substantial” for elegy. For prose narratives, subject is not explicitly tied to style, which can range within a genre form, though some pairings are more “proper” than others (e.g., high style with history, Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 1.1.2).

Equally as important as metre for determining the genre of a work is length. Certain genres are defined by their length. The primary example is epic, which is defined in terms of its magnitude.⁵⁷ Conversely, tragedies are to be of a suitable length for several to be offered on the same occasion.⁵⁸ Clearly size cannot be the only criterion for determining genre, as there are many genres of small and middle size. Nonetheless, length can be a determining factor and can be called upon when needed.

Another criterion by which genre is identified is the opening of the work, which includes both the opening sentence and the preface/prologue. Horace speaks of the opening sentence of a work as an important feature for framing the text.⁵⁹ A brief opening assists the reader in engaging with the main portion of the work and does not tax the reader’s patience. Furthermore, the opening sentence sets the stage for the remainder of the work, preparing the reader for what is to come. The preface of a work orients the reader to the work as a whole and provides a framework for understanding the play, narrative, or poem. The role of the preface is particularly

⁵⁶ Dionysius, *Dem.* 1-3; Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 70-72. Some ancients had a four-part style division. Philodemus, *Rhet.* 1.165; Ps.-Demetrius, *Eloc.* 36-304: grand, elegant, plain, and forceful.

⁵⁷ Διαφέρει δὲ κατὰ τὴν συστάσεως τὸ μῆκος ἢ ἐποποιία, Aristotle, *Poet.* 14, 1459b17.

⁵⁸ Aristotle, *Poet.* 14, 1459b20-21.

⁵⁹ Horace, *Ars* 136-52.

important for narrative works as it affords the opportunity to outline methodology, purpose, etc. (e.g., Thucydides).⁶⁰

The opening of the work is further related to the structure of the work as a whole. Through the opening the reader is introduced to the subject, and through the overall structure, the subject is presented.⁶¹ For Aristotle, a proper tragedy required four discrete sections: prologue, episode, exodus, and choral unit (*Poet.* 12, 1452b15-16). Horace cautions that a play is defined by having five acts, no more and no fewer (*Ars* 189). Ancient histories were structured topographically and chronologically,⁶² whereas biographies were structured around the life (and death) of the subject. Differences in structure change and shape the reader's appropriation of material and further assist in helping define the purpose of the writing.

Finally, the function or purpose of a work also helps determine its genre category as there is a proper genre for any given circumstance. For example, Isocrates differentiates between encomium and defence by the prescribed purpose of each work (*Hel. enc.* 14-15). Likewise, Aristotle distinguishes between Homer and Empedocles based on their chosen subject matter and intentions.⁶³ Lucian *Hist.* 8 argues that history and poetry have different aims and therefore are different genres. Identifying the purpose of a work thus assists in correct genre labelling and, circularly speaking, identifying the genre of a work assists in identifying its aims.⁶⁴

The formal features identified by the ancients and discussed above (metre, style, subject, length, opening sentence, preface, structure, and purpose) all assist in genre delineation. Note that for the ancients these components were not used discretely or in isolation, but often worked together, each bringing its own voice to provide clarity to the question of genre. These elements, with the addition of a few others, will provide the foundation for our formal feature criteria applied in chapter five. It is through a thorough application of these features that we will determine which ancient genre label best fits Acts.

⁶⁰ Cf. Lucian, *Hist.* 23.

⁶¹ Cf. Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 1.1.1.

⁶² Dionysius, *Thuc.* 9, γενομένων συγγραγέων ἢ κατὰ τόπους μεριζόντων τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἢ κατὰ χρόνους.

⁶³ Aristotle, *Poet.* 1, 1447b17-19. οὐδὲν δὲ κοινόν ἐστιν Ὅμηρῳ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ πλὴν τὸ μέτρον, διὸ τὸν μὲν ποιητὴν δίκαιον καλεῖν, τὸν δὲ φυσιολόγον μᾶλλον ἢ ποιητήν.

⁶⁴ Dionysius *Ant. rom.* 1.1.2-3 pairs the subject of a work with its purpose.

2.2 Genre Hierarchy and Greek and Latin Literary Preferences

Ranking authors and texts was a common practice in both Greek and Latin literary cultures, as evidenced by extant lists of ten famous orators,⁶⁵ the top nine lyric poets,⁶⁶ the best five tragic poets,⁶⁷ the five most influential epic poets,⁶⁸ and the three finest old comedy poets.⁶⁹ Divided by genre, these lists formed the basis for educational curricula and centuries of debates. Unfortunately, such robust lists were not generated for genre hierarchies. Nevertheless, there are numerous comments from ancient authors that can assist us in assessing ancient views on the latter.

Genre hierarchies became an important aspect of literary culture thanks to the writing of Aristotle. The notion of hierarchy, which became even more influential with the rise of literary canons,⁷⁰ goes back to Aristotle's *Poetics* where the three main genres discussed (epic, tragedy, and comedy) appear to be ranked according to the criteria of length, metre and dignity (*Poet.* 4, 1448b). Epic is the most prestigious genre based on its length, its "heavy" metre (hexameter), and the dignity of its characters; tragedy ranks second as it also has dignified characters, but is shorter in length and makes use of a more conversational metre; comedy comes last due to its incorporation of lower characters.⁷¹

On the other hand, in the closing chapter of *Poetics* Aristotle argues for the superiority of tragedy over epic because tragedy had everything that epic had (even metre), but also the addition of music, spectacle, and vividness when performed.⁷² Consistently, Aristotle minimises the importance of comedy as it was not taken seriously by the literary elite (*Poet.* 5, 1449a38). Particularly telling is Aristotle's comment in *Poet.* 9 in which he articulates his preference for poetry (and peripherally philosophy) over history: "Consequently, poetry is more philosophical

⁶⁵ (Ps.-)Plutarch, *Vit. X Orat.* 832B-852E: Aeschines, Andocides, Antiphon, Deinarchus, Demosthenes, Hypereides, Isaeus, Isocrates, Lysias, Lycurgus. Cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.76.

⁶⁶ *Anth. pal.* 9.184: Alcaeus, Sappho, Anacreon, Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Semonides, Bacchylides, Pindarus.

⁶⁷ Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Ion, Achaïos of Eretria.

⁶⁸ Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.53-54: Homer, Hesiod, Antimachus, Panyasis, Apollonius of Rhodes, (Pisander).

⁶⁹ Horace, *Sat.* 1.4.1, *Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae.*

⁷⁰ Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 212-34.

⁷¹ Harrison, *Generic Enrichment*, 8.

⁷² *Poet.* 26, 1461b25-1462b15.

and more elevated than history, since poetry relates more of the universal, while history relates particulars.”⁷³

Prose works were not debated, ranked or focused on as much as their poetic counterparts, nor were they listed in hierarchical order.⁷⁴ Rather, understanding prose-genre hierarchies depends on authorial comments. Despite this challenge, it is clear that within prose works history was the genre that was most respected, with the works of Thucydides, Herodotus, Sallust, and Livy considered the pinnacle for Greek and Latin prose writings, setting the standard for subsequent writers.⁷⁵ Not only is history the most frequently discussed prose genre, it always comes at the head of any discussion of prose genre (e.g., Quintilian, *Inst. or.* 10.1.73-75, 101-104).

Ancient literary theorists also discussed didactic literature, biography, romance/novel, and “scientific” works, although to a much lesser extent.⁷⁶ Following history in ancient hierarchies is didactic literature, particularly the genres of rhetoric and philosophy, though there is some difference between Greek and Roman literary preferences. Philosophical writings held a more prestigious position within Greek culture than in Roman culture, which in turn placed a higher social value on rhetoric and oratory.⁷⁷ This is supported in *Inst. or.* 10.1.123, where Quintilian notes that philosophical writings were less pursued in Latin literary circles.

⁷³ Aristotle, *Poet.* 9, 1451b5-8, διὸ καὶ φιλοσοφώτερον καὶ σπουδαιότερον ποιήσεις ἱστορίας ἐστίν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ποιήσεις μᾶλλον τὰ καθόλου, ἡ δ’ ἱστορία τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστον λέγει.

⁷⁴ Ranking texts and authors was not uncommon in the Greco-Roman literary world. See Hubert Cancik, “Standardization and Ranking of Texts in Greek and Roman Institutions,” in M. Finkelberg and G.G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Homer, the Bible, and Beyond: Literary Canons in the Ancient World* (JSRC 2; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 117-30; A. Ford, *The Origins of Criticism: Literary Culture and Poetic Theory in Classical Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 250-71.

⁷⁵ Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.73, 101; Longinus, *Subl.* 14.1. There has been debate recently regarding the perceived genre of Herodotus’ *Histories* at the time of composition; however, it is clear that later writers such as Quintilian and Cicero considered it part of the history genre. For a brief introduction to this with references, see D. Boedeker, “Herodotus’s Genre(s),” in M. Depew and D. Obbink (eds.), *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society* (CHSC 4; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 97-114, esp. 98-102.

⁷⁶ For a list of some scientific works, see Alexander, *Preface*, 217-29. It is possible also to include letters as part of this list. However, within epistolary writings there is wide diversity that would need to be addressed.

⁷⁷ For a discussion on the relationship between philosophy and rhetoric, see I. Sluiter, “The Dialectics of Genre: Some Aspects of Secondary Literature and Genre in Antiquity,” in M. Depew and D. Obbink (eds.), *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society* (Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia 4; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 183-203, esp. 196-97.

Biography—military and political for Latins, and philosophical for Greeks—usually ranked next in the hierarchy.⁷⁸ Biography's ranking was based on its noble subject matter (accomplished men) as well as its generic relationship with history.⁷⁹ Finally, scientific works and romance novels followed in the hierarchy. These two were ranked lowest due to their inferior subject matter (i.e., a subject that lacked nobility). Novels were particularly shunned as they embrace base themes, are highly sexualised, and are rural in their perspective.

Although ancient literary culture as a whole shows certain trends in genre hierarchy, the formation of genre rankings was also personal, with each author having his or her own particular preferences.⁸⁰ For instance, in *Sat.* 1.4.24 and *Ep.* 2.2.58-60, Horace comments on his listeners' low opinion of satire.⁸¹ Moreover, each individual's hierarchy is temporally situated in the epoch in which he or she wrote. As a result, one author's perspective may not apply to literature in an earlier or later era. For example, though it is clear from all the authors studied above (ca. 400 BC—100AD) that for centuries history ranked highest in a prose-genre hierarchy, by the time of Philostratus in third century AD, rhetoric had usurped the top position.⁸²

One suspects that personal genre hierarchies of prominent individuals influenced the larger societal genre hierarchy.⁸³ A society's genre hierarchy may be shaped and even fabricated by dominant social and literary groups and individuals. Within the Roman Empire no person had more power to influence than the Caesar, and the schools and writers he financially supported directly shaped literary culture.

⁷⁸ Furthermore, it is important to note that the term "biography" in this work refers to *bios* or *vita* in the ancient world. The term *biographia* is not extant until the end of the fifth century AD in the fragments of Damascius' *Life of Isidorus*.

⁷⁹ For the ancients' differentiation between history and biography, see Cornelius Nepos, *Pel.* 16.1.1; Plutarch, *Alex.* 1.2-3; *Pomp.* 8; Polybius, 10.21.8; 16.14.6.

⁸⁰ Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 227. Aristotle states he prefers tragedy over epic (*Poet.* 26, 1461b25-1462b15).

⁸¹ Lucilius (frag. 608) expresses the low opinion of satire during his time, although this changes slightly in later antiquity.

⁸² Wright, *Philostratus*, xviii.

⁸³ "We may seek a dominant not only in the poetic work of an individual artist and not only in the poetic canon, the set of norms of a given poetic school, but also in the art of a given epoch, viewed as a particular whole." Roman Jakobson, "The Dominant," in L. Metejka and K. Pomorska (eds.), *Readings in Russian Poetics: Formalist and Structuralist Views* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971), 82-87, 83. For a discussion of the role of the "dominant" in literary evolution, see below.

Consequently, it seems likely that a literary form that was advocated for and funded by the Caesar would become one of the dominant genre forms.⁸⁴

Just as genre hierarchies differed between individuals, they also differed between cultures. It is especially apparent in the Latin authors that Greek and Latin cultures had different literary preferences, which were shaped by wider ethnic and cultural factors. These cultural preferences found their ideal expression in particular genres, which in turn came to be prized and incorporated into the national identity. Such cultural differences are witnessed in the comments of Cicero, Horace, and Quintilian above. In *Opt. gen.* 2 and 6 Cicero distinguishes between Latin and Greek genre examples. Moreover, Cicero recognises Greek preference for iambic in *Opt. gen.* 1, whereas Horace pridefully claims that satire was untouched by the Greeks (*Sat.* 1.10.65-67). Quintilian provides the greatest insight into this cultural differentiation with his comparison of Greek literature to its Latin counterpart. For example, in *Inst.* 10.1.99 Quintilian confesses, “In the field of comedy, we are at our lamest,” (*In comoedia maxime claudicamus*). Likewise, in *Inst.* 10.1.123, Quintilian laments, “There remain writers on philosophy, a genre in which Roman literature has so far produced few eloquent authors” (*Supersunt qui de philosophia scripserint, quo in genere paucissimos adhuc eloquentes litterae Romanae tulerunt*). Moreover, in *Inst.* 10.1.96 Quintilian notes that Greek authors use iambic as a form of composition, while Roman authors do not.

Although the full importance of genre hierarchy and ranking will be revealed below, it is important at this stage to reinforce the view that ancients knew and were engaged in developing genre hierarchies. Furthermore, the activity of ranking and comparing was not limited to the works produced by one’s own culture, but also engaged works of neighbouring cultures. This is especially apparent in Latin literary circles, which are constantly evaluating Latin literature in terms of its Greek counterparts.

2.3 Genre Fluidity and Development

As discussed above, the ancients identified genres, arranged them in systems, and ordered them in hierarchies. They also discussed the extent of genre’s fluidity and

⁸⁴ “The selective canons with most institutional force are formal curricula.” Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 215.

development, how particular genres had developed and changed over time, and the appropriateness of mixing genres. This section will synthesise the comments made by the authors above on the origins of genre and the practice of mixing genre forms. This will be followed by a number of examples, primarily from Horace, illustrating how the practice of genre formation and development differed from the prescriptive statements made by ancient theorists.

In section one, we saw that the ancients were interested in determining the origins of particular genres. Such discussion often recalls the importance of a particular individual who, inspired by the Muses, insightfully added or combined particular forms and content in the creation of a new genre (e.g., Aristotle, *Poet.* 5, 1449a38; Horace *Ars* 74-82; Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.46). The role of the *auctor* as the catalyst for generic innovation is often limited to the great writers of the past and not ascribed to contemporary authors.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the acknowledgement of *auctores* and genre beginnings signals to the modern reader that the ancients recognised that each genre had an origin, a point in time in which it came into existence. This perspective suggests that ancient authors viewed genres and the genre system as evolving over time.

One particular ancient example, however, stands out, not only for the content of its comments, but because it has been prescriptively used by scholars to understand ancient genre theory. This example comes from Aristotle, who begins by acknowledging that genres can develop: “Poetry branched into two according to its creators’ characters.”⁸⁶ However, Aristotle undermines the force of the first claim by stating that “after many changes tragedy ceased to evolve since it had achieved its own nature.”⁸⁷ This final statement is intriguing as it suggests that genres were working and developing towards a particular goal and that once they had achieved this ideal form, their evolution halted. This understanding of genre, that it evolves for a period and then stops, is problematic from a modern perspective in that it does not accurately reflect how genres actually function.

⁸⁵ For Aesop’s creation of the fable, see Theon, *Prog.* 73.

⁸⁶ Aristotle, *Poet.* 4, 1448b23-24, διεσπάσθη δὲ κατὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἥθη ἡ ποίησις.

⁸⁷ Aristotle, *Poet.* 4, 1449a14-15, καὶ πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλοῦσα ἡ τραγῳδία ἐπαύσατο, ἐπεὶ ἔσχε τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν.

In addition to discussing genre evolution, many ancients claimed that genres should not be mixed, forging a firm boundary around each genre.⁸⁸ The most notable of these authors is Plato who, in his *Republic*, states that literary kinds must remain discrete, unmixed (ἀκρᾶτος), following the ideal.⁸⁹ Similarly, Cicero, Horace, and Quintilian express that genres should be kept discrete,⁹⁰ while Choerilus of Samos notes that a writer's innovation is limited, as there are fixed rules of composition.⁹¹ These statements seek to discourage any cross-pollination between genres and to perpetuate the established categories and hierarchies. This understanding of fixed genre categories, however, is prescriptive, and should not obscure the fact that literary evolution was widespread throughout the Hellenistic time-period.⁹²

It is lamentable that a number of modern scholars have adopted the former perspective on ancient works. Uncritically accepting the prescriptive claims of ancient literary handbooks, some scholars view ancient works as rigidly composed and genres as strictly delineated. As a result, their application of ancient genre theory is un-nuanced and misses the reality of the literary situation.⁹³ Those who adhere to the view that mixing forms and generic innovation were not tolerated overlook explicit comments from ancient writers. Isocrates' *Evagoras* is a good example as it both discusses literary ingenuity (*Evag.* 8) and embodies it with the work itself.⁹⁴ Likewise, Pausimachus is reported to have claimed, "I have established elsewhere that only Homer, Archilochus, and Euripides are doing the same thing, and in addition to them Sophocles and Philoxenus, and likewise Timotheus too mixing (μίσγων) their verses" (Philodemus, *De poem.* 1.83.9-24).

Also insightful is the discussion regarding the insertion of comedy features into tragedy and vice versa. For example, Cicero *Opt. gen.* 1: "So in tragedy a comic style is a blemish, and in comedy the tragic style is unseemly; and so with the other

⁸⁸ For a more recent discussion, see Derrida, "The Law of Genre."

⁸⁹ Plato, *Resp.* III 397d.

⁹⁰ Horace, *Ars* 119 (*Aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge*); Cicero, *Opt. gen.* 1 (*diversum a reliquis*); Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.2.22 (*suo cuique proposito lex, suus decor est: nec comoedia in coturnos adsurgit, nec contra tragoedia socco ingreditur*).

⁹¹ Choerilus of Samos, frag. 1 (*SH* 317), laments that the arts have been restricted (ἔχουσι δὲ πείρατα τέχνηαι) and epic has suffered. For further discussion, see K.A. MacFarlane, "Choerilus of Samos' Lament (*SH* 317) and the Revitalization of Epic," *AJP* 130 (2009): 219-34.

⁹² This is particularly true for epistles. D.L. Selden, "Genre of Genre," in J. Tatum (ed.), *The Search for the Ancient Novel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 39-64, 41.

⁹³ One example of this would be Shuler, *Genre for the Gospels*.

⁹⁴ Cf. Lucretius' writing of philosophy in poetic verse in *De Rerum Natura* 1.945-46; 4.18-22.

genres, each has its own tone and a way of speaking which the scholars recognize.”⁹⁵ That this example is mentioned by all the Latin authors above suggests that this is not a random illustration, but that it is commenting on an existing literary situation in Roman literature.

Horace, however, provides the model example of an ancient author who espouses a theory of genre formation and differentiation, but does not write by it.⁹⁶ For example, Horace claims, “Let each style keep the singular place for which it is suited” (*Ars* 92). Similarly, in *Ars Poetica* 372-73 Horace asserts that moderating poets, ones who mediate between poetic forms, are not accepted by men, gods or booksellers (*mediocribus esse poetis non homines, non di, non concessere columnae*).⁹⁷ Horace continues by comparing this mixed poetry to an orchestra that is out of tune (*symphonia discors*, 374), and laments that unskilled writers dare to frame verses (382).

However, Horace’s own writings appear to cross the divide between metres and styles. For example, in *Satires* 1.4.40-42 Horace debates whether or not he should be called a poet as he rounds off his verse and writes in a prose-like manner.⁹⁸ R.K. Hack, in his classic study, argues that “out of the seventeen epodes, only nine can be said to display the Archilochian spirit. The other eight are not only not satirical, but are demonstrably lyric in feeling and content.”⁹⁹ Horace’s *Odes* are themselves genre mixtures leading Hack to claim, “Horace, the perfect artist, was a desperate mixer of genres.”¹⁰⁰ For example, *Ode* 3.11 includes a hymn, a poem of courtship, and a mythological narrative, and in *Ode* 3.14 the celebration of Augustus’ adventus is followed by another type of situation-poem. Horace’s subject-matter also seems to be sometimes inappropriate for the metre. For example, in *Odes* 3.3.69 Horace states his material is getting to “heavy” and that “this will not suit my frivolous lyre” (*non*

⁹⁵ See also, Horace, *Ars* 93-94; Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.2.22.

⁹⁶ Cairns (*Generic Composition*, 128-29, 157, 210) identifies Horace, *Ode* 1.25 and 3.7 and Ovid, *Am.* 2.13 as works that are given a generic label, but lack one or more of the primary elements of that genre.

⁹⁷ Cf. Horace, *Ep.* 2.2.58-64.

⁹⁸ *Neque enim concludere versum dixeris esse satis; neque, si qui scribat uti nos sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetum.*

⁹⁹ R.K. Hack, “The Doctrine of Literary Forms,” *HSCP* 27 (1916): 1-65, 28.

¹⁰⁰ Hack, “Doctrine,” 30. For example, *Ode* 15 is essentially epic, *Ode* 24 is elegiac, *Odes* 8, 13, 15 and 25 are satiric, *Ode* 28 is dramatic elegy, and *Ode* 10 is erotic elegy.

hoc iocosae conveniet lyrae). Ultimately, it is apparent that “the laws of the lyric genre upheld by Horace the critic are definitely annulled by Horace the poet.”¹⁰¹

Another example of genre blending is found in the victory odes by Pindar. By definition, victory odes are poetic and not narrative. However, a majority of Pindar’s odes have incorporated narrative, thus creating a blend of both narrative and poetry in one work. This is so common in Pindar’s work that only nine of the forty-five surviving victory odes lack such a narrative (*Ol.* 5, 11, 12, 14; *Pyth.* 7; *Nem.* 2, 11; *Isthm.* 2, 3). Similarly of Bacchylides’ eleven victory odes only five lack a narrative frame (2, 4, 6, 10, 14).¹⁰² In light of blending of narrative and poetry some modern scholars have claimed that all victory odes are “hybrids.”¹⁰³ These examples indicate that, though mixing was prescriptively renounced, it still occurred in popular literature.

Some ancient writers appear to have consciously believed that genres develop, even if they did not necessarily articulate the fact as modern theorists do. Choerilus of Samos though acknowledging the fixed rules of composition intentionally breaks them to form the “historical epic”.¹⁰⁴ Isocrates recognises his genre adaptation in his explicit statement that he is “the first to eulogize in prose the virtues of a man” (*Evag.* 8).

These examples illustrate that ancient works in particular genres sometimes incorporated elements of a different genre.¹⁰⁵ The “crossing of genres” (*Kreuzung der Gattungen*) famously identified by Wilhelm Kroll in Latin poetry has been repeatedly shown to be a major creative feature of Hellenistic poetry.¹⁰⁶ Likewise, the Horatian examples above illustrate that the principle of incorporating elements from a different, “guest” genre while retaining the overall framework of the primary, “host” genre can be considerably extended.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ Hack, “Doctrine,” 31.

¹⁰² This is excluding the ones that are too fragmentary for precise comment: 7, 8, 12, 14A, 14B.

¹⁰³ I.L. Pfeijffer, “Pindar and Bacchylides,” in I. de Jong, R. Nünlist and A. Bowie (eds.), *Narrators, Narrates, and Narratives in Ancient Greek Literature: Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative, Volume One* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 213-32, 214.

¹⁰⁴ Choerilus of Samos, frag. 1 (*SH* 317), MacFarlane, “Choerilus of Samos’ Lament,” 219-34.

¹⁰⁵ Harrison, *Generic Enrichment*, 6.

¹⁰⁶ W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (Metzler: Stuttgart, 1924), 202-24; M. Fantuzzi and R.L. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 17-41.

¹⁰⁷ Harrison, *Generic Enrichment*, 6.

These examples from Horace and other writers are important for our later discussion of the genre of Acts. As shown above, the ancients, though prescriptively restricting the mixing of genres, actively mixed genre features in their literary works. This practice indicates that the ancients did not (in practice) adhere to strict genre boundaries, but rather continued to develop genres over time. Features from one genre could be incorporated into another genre without necessarily undermining the generic integrity of the work. As will be further discussed in chapter five, Acts adopts some non-biography genre components. The inclusion of such features, however, does not disrupt or undermine genre labelling. Rather, as the examples above show, this was a common practice in the Greco-Roman period, a practice that we need to take into account when evaluating Acts.

Modern Genre Theory and the Function of Genre

This section seeks to understand the ancients' view of genre in terms modern generic theories. Though modern and post-modern genre theory understandably find defining genre problematic, it seems clear from the ancient evidence just surveyed that in the Greco-Roman world particular genres could be deployed by writers and recognized by alert readers. Moreover, generic categories were readily understood and used by ancient authors without the need to defend their categories. Concepts such as genre mixing/evolution and hierarchy were also taken as established by ancient writers. Such categories as understood by modern genre theorists are, therefore, not foreign to the ancient debates, and using modern generic terminology allows greater scientific precision in appreciating both the function and nature of genre in ancient works. This section will briefly discuss modern theoretical perspectives of three aspects of genre pertinent to our evaluation of the genre of Acts: components, evolution, and hierarchy.

What Makes a Genre?

What criteria will we use to assess the genre of Acts? Nearly all contemporary models for determining the genres of ancient works use structural (external) features

that can be identified within a text. Some models also identify other (internal) distinguishing attributes in addition to structural elements, such as content and function.¹⁰⁸ The external features provide structural cues to the readers to assist them in identifying genre, whereas internal, content features affirm and support the external features. Identifying the genre of a work consists of evaluating the constellation of both external and internal features in comparison to other genres. As we have seen in the study of ancient theorists above, the ancients also made use of both internal and external features to determine genre and it is this programme that we will use in this study.

For the study of biography and the gospels, Richard Burridge's view has, in the last few decades, become the dominant perspective. In identifying biographies, Burridge places a particularly high emphasis on the importance of formal features (opening features, subject, external features, internal features) as genre determinants.¹⁰⁹ W. Doty, in his progressive article on genre, states, "Generic definitions ought not be restricted to any one particular feature (such as form, content, etc.), but they ought to be widely constructed to allow one to conceive of a genre as a congeries of (a limited number of) factors."¹¹⁰ However, a few lines prior, Doty argues that generic definition should focus on formal, structural composition and that the identification of subject matter is of dubious value.¹¹¹ A.Y. Collins in her introductory essay to the discussion of "Early Christian Apocalypticism" attempts to create a working definition of the concept of "apocalypse," using the criteria of form, content, and function.¹¹² Similarly, P. Cox proposes the pairing of formal features

¹⁰⁸ Opacki provides a needed reminder that formal, genre features need to be understood and developed in light of their cultural and temporal milieu. "Genres do not have unchanging, fixed constitutive features. First of all, because of the 'transformation' which occurs in the course of evolution. Second—and this is more important in this case—because of the shifts in importance of distinguishing individual features of structure, depending on the literary context of the epoch or literary trend." Opacki, "Royal Genres," 123.

¹⁰⁹ Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 106-107. For critiques, see Sean Freyne, "Early Christian Imagination and the Gospel," in Barbara Aland and Charles Horton (eds.), *The Earliest Gospels: The Origins and Transmission of the Earliest Christian Gospels: The Contribution of the Chester Beatty Codex* (LSNT 258; New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 2-12, 8.

¹¹⁰ W. Doty, "The Concept of Genre in Literary Analysis," *JBLSP* 1972, 413-48, 439-40.

¹¹¹ Doty, "The Concept of Genre in Literary Analysis," 439.

¹¹² A.Y. Collins, "Introduction," *Semeia* 36 (1986): 1-11. See also, Aune, *New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, 32-36.

and content, with passing reference to a functional criterion.¹¹³ Cox proposes that there are six main generic traits for Greco-Roman biographies of holy persons: structure, literary units, source use, type of characterization, social setting, and authorial intention.¹¹⁴

Even among these few examples, it is clear that, although there are differences, a majority of scholars use both formal features of the text as well as the content/function of the work as determining characteristics of a work's genre. One of the primary issues, however, is how to organize these criteria into useful categories. Literary critics Wellek and Warren have proposed that genre should be conceived as "a grouping of literary works based, theoretically, upon both outer form (specific metre or structure) and also upon inner form (attitude, tone, purpose—more crudely, subject and audience). The ostensible basis may be one or the other ... but the critical problem will then be to find the *other* dimension, to complete the diagram."¹¹⁵

This study will follow the example of both ancient and modern scholars and base genre classification on both external and internal features.¹¹⁶ Particular features to be considered are drawn from those identified by the ancients and are divided into four categories, each of which includes important features for distinguishing the genre of a work.¹¹⁷ First we will examine opening features, looking at the titles of ancient works as well as opening lines and prefaces. Next we will evaluate subjects of works and allocation of space within works. Third, we will assess external features and how they assist in identifying genre. These external features are mode of representation, metre, size, structure, scale and scope, sources, literary units, and methods of characterisation. Finally we will discuss internal features, including setting, topics, style, characterisation, social setting, audience and purpose. These

¹¹³ P. Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity: A Quest for the Holy Man* (TCH 1; Berkley: University of California Press, 1983), 4, 55.

¹¹⁴ Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity*, 55, 65.

¹¹⁵ R. Wellek and A. Warren, *Theory of Literature* (3rd ed., Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), 231.

¹¹⁶ It is slightly simplistic to state that all evidence will fall neatly into either internal or external categories. There are times in which a feature may address both internal and external criteria creating an in-between category that has been labelled "reflexive" by some scholars. One good example of this is when the text talks about itself and makes particular claims regarding the text/author. For a larger discussion, see J. Lyons, *Semantics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

¹¹⁷ For further discussion, see Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 105-23.

four categories provide a full treatment of formal features that is congruent with elements that would be recognised by the ancients.

Before we continue, one final comment is needed. An important caveat of the study of genre is that it is not an exact science with rigid formulae, but an attempt to evaluate a dynamic system.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, a work may be classified within a particular generic grouping despite the fact that it lacks particular formal features. As a result, a generic range or clustering develops in which works that have many categorical features center in the middle, while those that have fewer characteristic features are placed at the periphery. Despite the fact that individual features are evaluated and assessed, it is vital to reiterate that the genre of any text is only available to us through the structure and organization of the whole.¹¹⁹

The Evolution of Genre

The widespread adoption by modern genre theorists of the view that genres are not static, but evolve, can be attributed to two major influential figures whose methodological perspectives have had a profound effect on the understanding of genre.¹²⁰ Hegel's famous lectures on aesthetics argued that genres are historically determined, grounded in particular cultures, and dynamic rather than static entities.¹²¹ Darwin, in his seminal publication *Origin of Species*, proposed that species naturally adapt and evolve in particular geographical locations,¹²² a proposal that influenced discussion of genre, as epitomised by Ferdinand Brunetière's *L'évolution des genres*, whose rather crude application of Darwin's evolutionary principle, implying that genres are autonomous entities, elicited a large number of critiques.¹²³ Although Brunetière applied the concept of evolution too broadly, a number of later scholars have incorporated and applied Darwin's ideas with greater sensitivity and critical reasoning.

¹¹⁸ Wellek and Warren, *Theory of Literature*, 224.

¹¹⁹ N.R. Peterson, "So-Called Gnostic Type Gospels and the Question of the Genre 'Gospel,'" unpublished paper presented to the Task Force on Gospel Genre, Society of Biblical Literature, 1970, 12; Doty, "Concept of Genre," 422; Shuler, *A Genre for the Gospels*, 30.

¹²⁰ Duff, "Introduction," 4.

¹²¹ Hegel, *Aesthetics*.

¹²² Duff, "Introduction," 4.

¹²³ Ferdinand Brunetière, *L'évolution des genres dans l'histoire de la littérature* (2 vol.; Paris, 1894).

One of the primary movements that developed the evolutionary concept of genre was Russian Formalism, which began to study the concept of genre in earnest in 1921.¹²⁴ Rejecting what they felt was the vagueness of German idealism and the growing separation between the sciences and the humanities, Russian formalists developed a systematic and scientific approach to language and literature.¹²⁵ The result of this perspective was an understanding of genre as dynamic, changing through a process of evolution: “All fixed, static definitions of [genre] are swept away by the fact of evolution.”¹²⁶

Moreover, rather than merely identifying literary elements, formalists studied their functions and investigated how these elements worked within a cohesive system: “The study of literary evolution is possible only in relation to literature as a system, interrelated with other systems [i.e., culture] and conditioned by them.”¹²⁷ This systemic perspective¹²⁸ was adopted by Tynyanov, who posited that genres fluctuate as a system and that, within the systemic whole, genres develop, ascend, and then decline and dissolve into other genres.¹²⁹ This literary evolution and supplanting of dominant genres, according to Tynyanov, is preceded by a complex process, one that involves opposing literary principles’ being constructed, applied, and incorporated within the literary system, and becoming “automatised” and ultimately supplanted by upcoming literary constructions.¹³⁰ For Tynyanov, who grew up in a politically turbulent Russia, genres do not evolve smoothly or gradually, but change abruptly and with struggle.¹³¹ Although this conflictual evolutionary understanding is not

¹²⁴ Some of the major issues and concerns of later Russian formalist movement can be found in Yuri Tynyanov and Roman Jakobson, “Problems in the Study of Literature and Language,” in Metejka and Pomorska (eds.), *Readings in Russian Poetics*, 79-81.

¹²⁵ Dubrow, *Genre*, 89.

¹²⁶ Tynyanov, “Literary Fact,” 33.

¹²⁷ Y. Tynyanov, “On Literary Evolution,” in Metejka and Pomorska (eds.), *Readings in Russian Poetics*, 66-78, 77. The importance of system is widely supported by modern literary critics: Dubrow, *Genre*, 90; Duff, “Introduction,” 7-8; Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 250; Steiner, *Russian Formalism*, 99-137.

¹²⁸ Claudio Guillén, *Literature as System: Essays Toward the Theory of Literary History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 131-34, 375-419, esp. 378.

¹²⁹ Tynyanov, “Literary Fact,” 32; Tynyanov, “On Literary Evolution,” 66-78.

¹³⁰ Tynyanov, “Literary Fact,” 38. This is similar to the “canonisation of the younger genres” developed by Viktor Shklovsky.

¹³¹ Tynyanov, “Literary Fact,” 34.

widely accepted within literary criticism,¹³² it does provide important insight into the dynamic nature of genre change.¹³³

This discontinuous shift over time should not force us, however, to abandon genre tradition and terminology. Colie states, “Though there are generic conventions...there are also metastable [conventions]. They change over time, in conjunction with their context of systems. At the time of writing, an author’s generic concept is in one sense historical, in that he looks back at models to imitate and to outdo. The work he writes may alter genetic possibilities...almost beyond recognition.”¹³⁴ It is this understanding of genres’ interacting with social and cultural forces that is of particular focus for this study and for evaluating the influences that shape and mould genres over time.

Alastair Fowler, one of the predominant modern scholars in the field of genre criticism, has listed a number of different ways in which one genre may transform and evolve into an alternate, yet related genre.¹³⁵ Although by no means exhaustive, Fowler proposes that the majority of single-genre transformations occur through a change involving topical invention (in which a new topic is developed often through specialization), combination (a pairing of two pre-existing genres), aggregation (several short works are grouped together in an ordered collection), change of scale (in which the author enlarges, *macrologia*, or compacts, *brachylogia*, an existing genre), change in function, or counterstatement (or “antigenre”).¹³⁶

¹³² Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 250.

¹³³ It is important to note that Tynyanov, along with a number of Russian formalists, originally attributed the primary causes of evolution to forces internal to the literary system, as opposed to external social forces, attempting to create a relatively autonomous discipline. However, this was eventually rephrased to state that internal forces limit the possible number of directions a genre may take, but do not fix a single one, and the larger social system makes a selection out of these possibilities. Morson, “Russian Debate on Narrative,” 217-18. For the development of this concept, see Tynyanov and Jakobson, “Problems,” 79-81.

¹³⁴ R.L. Colie, *The Resources of Time: Genre Theory in the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 30; Tynyanov and Jakobson, “Problems,” 79-81.

¹³⁵ This is parallel to Todorov (“Origin of Genres,” 197), “Where do genres come from? Quite simply from other genres. A new genre is always the transformation of an earlier one, or of several: by inversion, by displacement, by combination.”

¹³⁶ Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 170-78. It should be noted that Fowler specializes in Renaissance literature and so his categories are tailored to that literary time period. As a result, some of these categories may not transfer well to ancient genres. However, some of his observations are still valid, but require further evaluation.

Although there are some similarities to Fowler, an ancient perspective of genre development and change, discussing the topics of the original use of topoi, inversion, reaction, inclusion, speaker-variation, and addressee-variation, can be found in Cairns, *Generic Composition*, chs. 4-9.

In addition to these categories, Fowler also proposes transformations that involve multiple genres, such as inclusion (a literary work enclosed within another work), generic mixture (the inclusion of some literary features in another genre), and hybridization (where two or more complete repertoires are present in such proportions that no one of them dominates).¹³⁷ Although the previous list of transformations is important for the understanding of genre development, it is the latter list that provides a greater insight into the current study of Acts and ancient genres, particularly the idea of mixture and hybridization.

When discussing possible evolution and hybridization of genres one of the foundational issues is that the hybridizing genres have generic relatedness. By this I mean that they have a number of pre-existing similarities that not only predispose them for amalgamation, but also allow a blending of parts. For example, the component genres of a hybrid will be of the same scale with similar external forms.¹³⁸ If an epic were to be hybridized with a letter there would be a conflict of scale in which one genre's scale would dominate the generic blend and either result in an excessively large letter, or a moderately short epic that would then not merit the classification of "epic."¹³⁹ On the other hand, history and biography have sufficient similarities in scale that, if mixed, there is no issue of scale domination.¹⁴⁰

Recognising that genres are in a perpetual state of flux and evolution is vital for adopting the view that genres are flexible. Knowing that genre form and content identifiers are constantly changing (whether quickly or slowly) inhibits the adoption of rigid genre categories and forces the scholar to take a more nuanced approach. Furthermore, this knowledge insists that the social and cultural environment of the work be taken into account. This leads us to our next section which situates genres within power relationships.

¹³⁷ Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 179-90. The category of hybridization could also include the concept of satire.

¹³⁸ Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 183.

¹³⁹ This example, although acute, does have some legitimacy in that, within the ancient world, the genres of epic and epistles were not blended, but rather the latter was subsumed within the former, likely as a result of scale.

¹⁴⁰ It is true that later on (post 4th cent. AD) there was a blending of biography and history to form a new genre of "biographical historiography", but this falls outside of this work's temporal boundaries. See also (6th cent.) Procopius, *Histories of the War*, where bk. 8 changes to biography. Swain, "Biography," 26. On the other hand, such changes were critiqued in the Hellenistic era. See Polybius 8.8 who critiques Theopompus for beginning with history and changing to biography.

When attempting to understand evolutionary change within a genre, it is vital to be able to identify formative influences that exert pressure within the generic system. Because genre and literary forms are not static, but exhibit change in response to different social and cultural pressures, there are, almost by definition, power relations in which one literary form will influence the use and formation of another.

In adopting the modern view of genre as a system in which literary forms interact with one another, it is possible to identify specific instances where the selection or adaptation of a genre has been influenced by cultural concerns.¹⁴¹ Influence, however, is not an omni-directional force, but functions in a particular manner. Roman Jakobson discusses the nature of specific literary elements and the influence of the “dominant.”¹⁴² Jakobson, taking the poetic form as his model, discusses changes in literature, not in terms of disbanding generic elements, but as reforming them to create a new, dominant combination: “In the evolution of poetic form it is not so much a question of the disappearance of certain elements and the emergence of others as it is the question of shifts in the mutual relationship among the diverse components of the system, in other words, a question of the shifting dominant.”¹⁴³ In relation to hierarchical structures and superior and inferior values, Jakobson discusses the influence that dominant features/characteristics have, not only for the selection of particular elements, but also as to how those elements are conceived and evaluated within a new whole.¹⁴⁴ Although Jakobson primarily focuses on the role of the dominant in elementary features of literature, the theory of the dominant is also applicable to the collection of literary elements that form holistic genres and literary canons within a particular epoch.

In working with literary genres as a system, and not exclusively with their component parts, Ireneusz Opacki discusses the concept of “royal genre” in which a genre acquires the most importance or greatest prestige and becomes the dominant

¹⁴¹ Èjxenbaum (“Literary Environment,” 56-65) rightly notes the importance of literary environment on the development of genres and generic evolution.

¹⁴² Jakobson, “The Dominant,” 82-87.

¹⁴³ Jakobson, “The Dominant,” 85.

¹⁴⁴ Jakobson, “The Dominant,” 82.

literary genre.¹⁴⁵ This royal genre is comprised of a unique and characteristic set of literary features that distinguish it from other literary genres. Having acquired the dominant literary position (whether gradually or suddenly) the royal genre begins exerting downward pressure on subordinate or secondary genres.¹⁴⁶ This pressure leads to hybridization or mixing of genres that determines the course of literary evolution. This happens when specific generic features that characterize the “royal genre” are adopted by subordinate genres, sometimes subconsciously, but often as a conscious effort by an author to elevate the status of a particular literary work.¹⁴⁷ As a result, there is a blurring of genre distinctiveness as characteristic features of the dominant genre are incorporated into other generic forms.¹⁴⁸ Opacki states that “*a literary genre entering, in the course of evolution, the field of a particular literary trend, will enter into a very close ‘blood relationship’ with the form of the royal genre that is particular to that current.*”¹⁴⁹ This blood relationship is not a complete imitation, but rather the genre that is formed has a number of specific literary elements of the royal genre, but also a number of distinctive elements depending on the genre’s place within the hierarchy of literature and that genre’s inherent flexibility.¹⁵⁰ As a result, the cultural assumptions and aspirations of an era are reflected, not only in the hierarchy of genres, but also in how these genres relate to each other.¹⁵¹

This understanding of genre interaction and power relations is evident in one of the most formative events in the development of ancient literature, namely, the

¹⁴⁵ Opacki, “Royal Genres,” 118-26.

¹⁴⁶ Opacki, “Royal Genres,” 120. It is important to note that the term “inferior” has also been used to describe less prestigious genres. In this situation “inferior” does not embody particular qualitative subjectivity in evaluating the genre’s ability to communicate or function, but only implies that it is not as highly respected as other “superior” genres.

¹⁴⁷ A similar concept can be found in the study of the influence of language in which the dominant or “prestige” language of the day exerts influence on the subordinate forms of language or dialect. In this case the members of society that utilize the lower status dialect often attempt to imitate the more prestigious language style in order to raise their social position. Conversely, those with the prestigious language form resist the adoption of subordinate features due to their inferior social implications. For a discussion of this concept, see S.E. Porter, “The Language of the Apocalypse in Recent Discussion,” *NTS* 35 (1989): 582-603, 600; R.A. Hudson, *Sociolinguistics* (CTL; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 32-34; R.M.W. Dixon, *The Rise and Fall of Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 9-10.

¹⁴⁸ Opacki, “Royal Genres,” 123-24.

¹⁴⁹ Opacki, “Royal Genres,” 121. Italics his.

¹⁵⁰ Some genres cannot discard all their characteristic features or else they risk leaving one genre classification but not quite incorporating themselves within another genre that will provide adequate communicational cues to the reader.

¹⁵¹ Duff, “Introduction,” 18.

Roman conquest of the Greek Hellenistic world and the integration of Greek and Latin cultures. Latins had different literary emphases and preferences, so they did not invest time in or support every literary genre developed by the Greeks. This being said, Latin writers were not hesitant to adopt a Greek literary form and imbue it with Latin characteristics with the result that fields like history and oratory became more practical and legally focused.¹⁵² This shift in the dominant culture from Greek-based to Latin-based, moreover, precipitated a blending of literary forms and emphases. That there were similar, though not identical, genre forms in each culture, and that the importance of these genres was culturally derived, set the stage for shifts in genre hierarchy and a reconfiguration of genre features. It was in this tumultuous literary time that Luke was educated and Acts was written. This lends even greater support for understanding the flexibility of genres and for interpreting ancient works in light of the larger literary milieu.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated that the ancients did have a thorough concept of genre. Though they primarily used modal features to form genre categories, a number of ancients recognised that modality in and of itself was insufficient as the sole genre definer. As a result, other features, such as size, structure, component parts, and subject, were utilised to assist in genre divisions. In addition to this, the ancients also discussed the inter-relationships of genres, claiming that genres should be fixed and that there should be rigid divisions between genre forms. These prescriptive programs, however, were not consistently followed, even by those who espoused them (e.g., Horace). Luke, living and educated in this era, would have been exposed to these generic ideas. Furthermore, his writing of Acts would have been influenced by the values and dictates which he was taught. Understanding how ancients view genre provides an avenue by which to understand better Luke's composition.

Turning to modern genre theory, the above discussion has shown that current theories can provide descriptive insight into the interaction and function of ancient genres. The use of modern theories to investigate ancient genres is not an

¹⁵² W.H. Atkins, *Literary Criticism in Antiquity: A Sketch of its Development, Vol. 1: Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), 8; Cairns, *Generic Composition*, 92-97.

anachronistic imposition, but rather helps refine categories already latent in ancient genre theory. The application of modern theories, such as power relations, evolution, mixing, and hybridisation, are not foreign to ancient genres. Rather, the articulation of these principles by modern genre theories reinforces ancient perspectives and places the hypotheses of the ancients into a holistic system. These theories, therefore, allow for greater scientific precision in investigating both the function and nature of genre in ancient works.

In the upcoming chapter, we will trace the development of ancient biography and evaluate its traditional divisions into military, political, and intellectual sub-genres in the Hellenistic period. In addition to this, particular attention will be given to collected biographies in which the principle of organisation is determined by the pairing/grouping of individuals. It is the argument of chapter four that collective biographies constitute a distinct category of ancient biography with strong associations with intellectual biography. Additionally, this chapter will map the enduring relationship between biography and history, showing a strong generic relationship existed throughout the Hellenistic era and the Early Empire. Following this, chapter five will look to determine the genre of Acts by implementing criteria of formal features developed above.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANCIENT INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTED BIOGRAPHIES

Biography as a genre within the Classical and Hellenistic periods has been a neglected area of study.¹ Often subsumed under a discussion of historical prose, the intricacies of the biographical genre have all too often been under-developed. In his discussion on ancient biography, Geiger insightfully reminds his readers of the possible futility of trying to reconstruct the field of ancient biography and its authors' theoretical perspectives. Not only is there a dearth of extant ancient literature addressing this topic, but it is quite possible that a holistic theory never existed and was never consciously in the minds of its ancient practitioners.² Geiger warns, moreover, that the investigation of biography should not be divorced from discussion of wider literary genres of the Greco-Roman world.³ Although I appreciate Geiger's perspective that genres need to be understood in their literary context, his pessimism regarding our ability to differentiate biography should not dissuade us from trying. An attempt to identify particular generic features that distinguish ancient biography from its prose counterparts is needed for developing a detailed system of ancient prose.

This chapter will commence with a brief introduction and outline of the nature and development of Greek biography in the ancient world.⁴ Following this, the

¹ Sadly, a number of works that investigate ancient Greek literary genres do not have a chapter dedicated to biography. For example: M. Hadas, *History of Greek Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950); A. Dihle, *A History of Greek Literature: From Homer to the Hellenistic Period* (London: Routledge, 1994); A. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature* (London: Methuen, 1966); H.J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Literature: From Homer to the Age of Lucian* (London: Methuen, 1934). Nagy, who has edited a nine-volume set on Greek literature, does not treat biography until his discussion on the "Saint's Lives" in the Byzantine period (vol. 9).

² Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 14.

³ B. Gentili and G. Cerri, *History and Biography in Ancient Thought* (LSCP 20; Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1988), 84.

⁴ One of the key challenges to the investigation of the nature and genre of biography in the ancient world is the problem of evidence. Not only is the evidence fragmentary, but there are large lacunae in various epochs. Still one of the best compilations of ancient Greek biography remains, A. Westermann (ed.), *Biographoi: Vitarum Scriptores Graeci Minores* (Braunschweig 1845; repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1964).

Some who have evaluated the nature of biography in the last 40 years have attempted to compile a list of biographies from the Greek Classical and Hellenistic eras, most notably K. Berger and D. Frickenschmidt. K. Berger, "Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament," *ANRW* II.25.2, 1031-1432, 1232-37; D. Frickenschmidt, *Evangelium als Biographie: Die vier Evangelien im Rahmen antiker Erzählkunst* (TANZ 22; Tübingen: Francke, 1997), 79-80.

Frickenschmidt compares the four gospels to 142 ancient biographies. These works represent the major biographical authors whose works are largely extant, and so he does not include fragmentary

standard sub-divisions of biography that have been suggested (political, military, and intellectual) will be outlined and evaluated. Finally, we will investigate the genre of collected biographies, which, I propose, should be understood as a recognizable biographical form in its own right. From this investigation we will see that there is a great amount of functional flexibility within the biographical genre. Second, a complex relationship exists between biography and history genres so that a rigid boundary between these two genres creates an artificial divide. The enduring relationship between history and biography, furthermore, functions in such a way that the former exerts significant influence on the development of the latter. Third, collected biographies function differently than biographies of individuals in that collected biographies are formally structured as collections of individual lives that are united by a common aspect, and often deal with the topic of succession. Collected biographies are not merely a number of individual biographies stuck together, but have a distinctive structure and function. By mapping the development of biography and its diverse nature we can gain important insights into the biographical nature of Acts.

Definition of Biography

Many scholars have tried to create a succinct definition of biography as a genre. The majority now adhere to Momigliano's view that a biography is "an account of the life of a man from birth to death."⁵ As to the chronological limits of biography, Cooper

works within his consideration. Berger, on the other hand, has a much more comprehensive list of works. Recent scholarship, however, has raised some issues surrounding the dates of some of the biographies which Berger places within the Hellenistic time period. For instance, in the work on *The Greek Life of Adam and Eve*, De Jonge and Tromp have suggested that the document was not a Jewish work, but written by Christian writers, proposing a date of original composition between the second and seventh centuries AD: Marinus de Jonge and Johannes Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (GAP 4; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 77. In regards to the dates of some of the other texts cited in Berger and Frickenschmidt, although there have been some refinements by the scholarly community, most of them are still solidly placed within the Hellenistic era. Although see the discussion on Ps.-Hippocrates, *Epistle 2*, in n. 91 below.

⁵ Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography: Carl Newell Jackson Lectures* (expanded edition; Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1993), 11. Followed by, P. Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity: A Quest for the Holy Man* (TCH 5; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 7.

contends that “the limit was obviously the life itself from its beginning to its end.”⁶ A similar parameter is expressed by Eusebius (*Hier.* 3): “Philostratus, however, the Athenian, tells us that he collected all the accounts that he found in circulation, using both the book of Maximus and that of Damis himself and of other authors; so he compiled the most complete history of any of this person’s life, beginning with his birth and ending with his death” (Loeb).

Although this is a general definition, it is somewhat inappropriate if the account in question only consists of the barest of outlines, has no recognizable form, or is no more than a three-line epitaph.⁷ Likewise, while defining a biography from birth to death is generally acceptable, there are some caveats that need to be noted. First, while a biographical work focuses on the life of its subject, it is clear that material that occurs outside of his (or her) life may also be included. For example, a large number of biographies include a section on the parents and ancestors of the subject (see appendix 1). Similarly, a number of works include funerals and mention important ramifications of the person’s life that occur after his death.⁸ These matters, which are regularly included within biographical works, suggest that a more nuanced definition of a biography is in order. I propose, therefore, that we understand an individual biography as not only an account of a person from birth to death, but one that also includes the events and people which led to this life, and the effects of this person’s actions that survive his death. The larger influence of the person can also be recounted, particularly in philosophical biography, e.g., the lasting effects of the philosopher’s teaching, which may include references to his disciples.

The Early Development of Biography

Although there are clearly a number of factors that influenced the development of ancient *bios*, there are some that may have had a comparatively greater influence.⁹

⁶ Craig Cooper, “Aristoxenos, Περὶ βίῳν and Peripatetic Biography,” *Mouseion* 2 (2002): 307-39, 314. Although he does state that a *bios* did not necessarily cover an individual’s entire life from birth to death.

⁷ Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 26.

⁸ Some examples include the distribution of the will’s contents and its ensuing problems, or the outworking of a war/battle that the subject initiated, but died prior to its conclusion. See appendix one for other examples.

⁹ On the importance of development, Momigliano states that “the question of chronology is of paramount importance in the evaluation of the history of ancient biography.” Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 21.

One of these was the importance of genealogical trees for aristocratic families, which were used as support for claims of social superiority. Similarly, the interest in Greek heroes and the poems that they inspired led to the construction of mythological biography in poetry as well as art.¹⁰ This in turn led to a fascination with famous Greeks who had lived in past generations, such as writers, philosophers and politicians, whose deeds were still being recounted. There are a few examples of these works that were written prior to the fifth century BC. For example, Hesiod's *Works and Days*, which includes some intriguing autobiographical items, was adopted as a source by later biographers. Speculation on the life and death of Homer and his relationship to Hesiod also provided substantial fodder for biographers.¹¹ Comparable interest appears for the lives of Aesop and the "Seven Sages," who were discussed in the time of Plato and were still being discussed by Diogenes.¹²

It is not until the fifth century BC, however, that biographical and autobiographical interest significantly develops within Greek literature.¹³ Arguably the first traces of ancient Greek biography can be found in Skylax of Caryanda,¹⁴ who is reported in the *Suda* to have written *The Story of the Tyrant (or king) Heraclides of Mylasa*, among other titles.¹⁵ This work, unfortunately not extant, appears to recount the actions of Heraclides against the Persians during the Ionian-Carian uprising of 499-496 BC. Although the biographical nature of this work is still somewhat disputed, it is fair to reiterate Bury's statement, "How far that work was what can be called biographical we cannot tell, but it is at least noteworthy as the

¹⁰ Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 24-25. For example, see Theocritus, *Epi.* 20, who discusses Pisander's work on the "Labours of Heracles." For a discussion of the development of *bios* in Greek art of the early classical period, see G.M.A. Hanfman, "Narration in Greek Art," *AJA* 61 (1957): 71-78.

¹¹ See, for example, Ps.-Herodotus, *Vita Homeri*; Ps.-Plutarch, *Vita Homeri*, in U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Homerische untersuchungen* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1884). For a recent edition of Homeric lives, including the *Certamen*, see M.L. West, *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 296-457.

¹² Plato, *Prot.* 342e-343b; Hermippus, Περὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν, F 9-20; Diogenes Laertius, 1.13. Regarding Aesop, Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.134.

¹³ For a discussion of the role and development of autobiography in Greek literature, see Gentili and Cerri, *History and Biography*, 74-79.

¹⁴ Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 29; Contra Helene Homeyer, "Zu den Anfängen der griechischen Biographie," *Philologus* 106 (1962): 75-85, 82 n.1, who suggests that it is a historical monograph.

¹⁵ *Suda* Σ 710; Jacoby, *FGH* 709, 1000. For some possible autobiographical features of (pseudo-)Skylax see his *Circumnavigation of the Inhabited Sea*. A forthcoming translation and commentary is to be written by Graham Shipley. For references to other scholars who identify Skylax as the first biographer, see Guido Schepens, *FGH* IVA 20, nn. 65-67.

earliest Greek book that we know of that made an individual the centre of a historical narrative.”¹⁶

Approximately concurrent with Skylax is Xanthos of Lydia, whose work *On Empedocles* is cited by Aristotle in Diogenes Laertius’ narrative (8.63). Despite the debate surrounding whether or not Diogenes directly cited Aristotle or did so through an intermediary source (which is more likely), there is a growing consensus supporting Aristotle’s claim that this work was penned by Xanthos and that it did contain biographical features. Specific biographical details, however, are unavailable.¹⁷

Another near-contemporary is Stesimbrotos of Thasos, whose work, *On Themistocles, Thucydides and Pericles*, is cited by Plutarch eleven times and by Athenaeus once.¹⁸ Meister’s suggestion that Stesimbrotos’ work has all the characteristics of the biographical literary genre is overstated, especially due to its extreme fragmentation.¹⁹ It is fair, however, to claim that this work, with its focus on specific individuals, is a precursor to later, fully-formed biographies, and possibly is the first example of a collected biography.

It is important to note that the formal distinction of biography as a discreet genre was not established by the time of these writings. Accordingly, although it is valid to state that these works may have influenced the development of Greek biography, it is not accurate to label them explicitly as biographies. This is especially true as their fragmentary nature prohibits strict generic claims.

Although some scholars have used extant titles and citations to claim an early date for the genesis of *bios*, it is important to note that biography did not emerge fully formed, but that it was likely influenced by contemporary historical writers. Momigliano, among other historians, has posited that the biography genre emerged out of historical prose, particularly through Greek interaction with the Persian nation

¹⁶ J.B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians: Harvard Lectures* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1909), 25.

¹⁷ Guido Schepens and Els Theys, *FGH* IVA 30-37.

¹⁸ For references, see Jacoby, *FGH* 1002.

¹⁹ K. Meister, “Stesimbrotos’ Schrift über die athenischen Staatsmänner und ihre historische Bedeutung (*FGH* 107 F 1-11),” *Historia* 27 (1978): 274-94, esp. 293-94. This being said, the fragments that have survived suggest that a number of features that would characterise a biographical work were present in Stesimbrotos’ work including, childhood and education (F1, F4 and F6), private lives and family (F3, F5, F10 and F11), political policies (F2 and F8), etc.

and its literature.²⁰ Noteworthy is the fact that the biographers referenced above (Skylax, Xanthos, Stesimbrotos, and Ion of Chios) were not located on the Greek mainland, but in colonies in Asia Minor and the surrounding islands, places that had substantial contact with Persian culture.²¹ Similarly, the biographical details identified in Herodotus and Thucydides are typically associated with figures and sources from Asia Minor.²²

Although the origins of Greek biography as a whole are not vital for identifying biographies in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the knowledge that the evolution of this genre came from historical prose and was initiated through interaction with a foreign culture is valuable. The idea that a number of the earliest biographers writing in Greek were heavily influenced by Persian culture should not be overlooked, for it is this interaction of cultures and values that require writers to adapt literary genres to fit their needs and the literary tastes of their readers.

Transitioning to Greek biographies of the fourth century, there appears to be a disjuncture between this group and those discussed above from the fifth century. Momigliano claims that the “fifth-century experimentations in biography came to a sudden end and that in the fourth century biography and autobiography made a fresh start.”²³ Although Momigliano does acknowledge that the dearth of biographies in the first half of the fourth century could have arisen due to chance, he claims that a fresh generic start is not without historical parallels.²⁴

Although the reconfiguration of a literary form is understandable and to be expected, the terminology of “fresh start” by Momigliano implies a disconnection with the previous generic form and the creation of a whole new genre. This, as has been discussed in the previous chapter, is not how genres develop. As a result, it is more likely that there was a new application discovered for biography in the later fourth century that initiated an evolution in the formal features, rather than a true

²⁰ Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 33-37.

²¹ The notable exception would be Xanthos, who was not a Greek citizen at all, but rather a Lydian.

²² Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 34-35; Homeyer, “Zu den Anfängen der griechischen Biographie.”

²³ Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 44.

²⁴ Momigliano gives the poor examples of Cavendish (ca. 1494–1562) and Roper (1496-1578) as people who represent the “foundations of new tradition of biography.” However, despite the fact that these two authors developed a new trajectory for biography, they did not create a “fresh start” as Momigliano states.

disconnection and a fresh start.²⁵ Even though there are few extant biographical works from the first half of the fourth century, the few fragments and citations suggest that literary works focusing on individuals were still being written and developed.²⁶

With this being said, Momigliano is correct in stating that there is a shift in the biographical genre midway through the fourth century. A number of scholars identify specific works from this period that reflect a “biography” genre.²⁷ A.S. Osley states, “The earliest specimens of Greek biographical writing (if you except the caricatures of men in public life so mercilessly drawn in Aristophanes and the playwrights of the Old Comedy) are contained in Isocrates and Xenophon. Both authors are of the ‘encomiastic’ type.”²⁸

Arguably the most important work for the development of a discrete Greek biography genre is Isocrates’ *Evagoras*. It is not accurate, however, to state that *Evagoras* is a full biography; rather, it is a prose narrative in an encomiastic manner focused on a particular person who has recently died and who is not divine or mythological.²⁹ Isocrates, moreover, appears to have an awareness of his ingenuity, stating that he is “the first to eulogize in prose the virtues of a man” (*Evag.* 8). This statement suggests an understanding of the uniqueness of the work, the generic system, and literary expectations at that time. Furthermore, it also indicates that he was conscientiously aware of breaking a generic tradition.

Following in the tradition of prose encomiastic biography, Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* and *Agesilaus* attempt to provide post-mortem praise and defend their

²⁵ On this concept, one must agree with Bowersock’s statement that “Continuity...does not require sameness.” G.W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 10.

²⁶ See for example, Antisthenes of Athens, *Alcibiades* (FGH 1004), and Andron of Ephesus, *Tripod* (FGH 1005). Antisthenes’ work, among other topics, focuses on the political figure of Alcibiades, while Andron’s *Tripod* is centered on the legend of the seven sages. Other fourth-century writers on the seven sages include: Eudoxos of Knidos and Euthyphron as cited in Diogenes, *Lives* 1.29-30 and 1.107. F. Lasserre, *Die Fragmente des Eudoxos von Knidos* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1966).

²⁷ For example, Berger, in his list of biographies, although acknowledging Skylax, does not discuss him when categorizing the different types of ancient biographies. Berger, “Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament,” 1232-37.

²⁸ A.S. Osley, “Greek Biography Before Plutarch,” *GR* 43 (1946): 7-20, 9.

²⁹ M. Edwards, “Isocrates,” in I.J.F. de Jong, R. Nünlist and A.M. Bowie (eds.), *Narrators, Narratees, and Narratives in Ancient Greek Literature: Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 337-42; Euangelos V. Alexiou, *Euagoras/Isocrates: Hermēneutikē ekdosē* (Thessalonikē: University Studio Press, 2007), 67; J. Sykutris, “Isokrates’ Euagoras,” *Hermes* 62 (1927): 24-53; Larue Van Hook, *Isocrates* (LCL; London: Heinemann, 1945), 2.

respective protagonists.³⁰ *Agesilaus* is by far the closest-related work to *Evagoras*, in that it commences with the ancestry of Agesilaus and then discusses his military and political actions as a means for gaining insight into his character.³¹ *Memorabilia*, on the other hand, takes an entirely different structure, not following the entire life of Socrates, but primarily focussing on his trial and the refutation of spurious character attacks.³² This limited focus, with a distinct lack of personal details (e.g., birth and ancestry) and a high concentration on philosophical teachings, provides a different biographical model for later writers.³³

Still another important work for understanding early biography was penned by Xenophon. Although *Cyropaedia* has a strong biographical content, a number of scholars hesitate to ascribe to it the genre of biography, suggesting a genre more akin to history, or even (anachronistically) novel.³⁴ Although the scale of this work is larger than the typical biography, as it includes various facets of Persian and Medes culture, the typical biographical features such as ancestry (1.2.1), education and childhood events (1.2.3–1.5.1), career (1.5.4–8.6.23), and death (8.7.1–27) are all reported with a singular focus on Cyrus.³⁵

It is enough for now to show that these texts suggest that there was an interest in famous people and their life events prior to the genre's proliferation in the Hellenistic epoch. Furthermore, these extant texts and fragments suggest that even at this early

³⁰ For questions regarding Xenophon's authorship of *Agesilaus*, see C.E. Sorum, "The Authorship of the *Agesilaus*," *PP* 39 (1984): 264–75. For comments on the common theme of defence within an ancient biography, see Jody R. Pinault, *Hippocrates Lives and Legends* (SAM 4; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 11.

³¹ D.L. Gera, *Xenophon's Cyropaedia: Style, Genre, and Literary Technique* (OCM; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 7.

³² Some have suggested that book 4 might be an independent work. If that is the case then there are two Xenophonic biographical texts, both structured quite differently with distinct literary aims. E.C. Marchant, *Xenophon Vol. 4* (LCL; London: Harvard University Press, 1923), xviii, xxiii.

³³ Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 54; Gera, *Xenophon's Cyropaedia*, 6. Although both Momigliano and Gera are somewhat hesitant to claim that this is a full "biographical" model. Burridge (*What Are the Gospels?*, 136) states that *Memorabilia* is not a biography due to its lack of chronological structure.

³⁴ Walter Miller, *Xenophon: Cyropaedia* (LCL; London: Heinemann, 1914), viii. Miller claims that it is the western pioneer for "historical romance." Gera (*Xenophon's Cyropaedia*, 3, 11), although does suggest some parallels to biography, also suggests links to political treatises or *πολιτεία*. Burridge's statement that *Cyropaedia* is not a biography due to the mixture of accurate and fictitious information, and therefore is more akin to a "pedagogical novel," bypasses a definition based on formal features and imposes a problematic overarching criterion of authenticity to the definition of biography. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 69.

³⁵ For a discussion regarding other possible ancient works on Cyrus that are not in extant see Gera, *Xenophon's Cyropaedia*, 7–11.

stage there was a movement towards a recognised biography genre. Not only was there a growing formalisation of *bios* as a literary genre, but these texts were also adopting a variety of functions, such as encomium or defence.³⁶

Finally, although we have noted the relationship of biography and history, it is necessary to differentiate between biographical elements located in various literary forms, (e.g., the Persian kings in Herodotus), and between a literary form devoted solely to biography.³⁷ Although the former were important for understanding the original development and formation of the biographical genre as a distinct entity, it is the latter that will be the focus of the remainder of this work.³⁸

Biography in the Hellenistic Era and Early Empire

The conquests of Alexander III radically shifted the historical and cultural circumstances behind the writing of Greek literature and resulted in a change in emphasis within particular genres.³⁹ Despite the literary development of biography in the Classical era, it was primarily in the Hellenistic epoch that the nature, form and function of biography substantially grew and took shape. Not only was this a time of military expansion, it was also a period of the spread of Greek culture and influence. Accordingly, it was at this time of cultural interaction that a number of social, cultural and literary changes occurred. This was especially so for the nature of biography.

³⁶ While encomium and biography are highly related genres, particularly within the classical era, each of these genres developed and gradually differentiated themselves within the Hellenistic age. While there were clear biographical examples in Cicero's time, he still claims that there were a number of encomia of Greek persons (Themistocles, Aristides, Agesilaus, Epaminondas, Philip, Alexander and others). Cicero, *De or.* 2.341.

With this being said, there were a number of biographies that had an encomiastic intention/flavour; however, not all biographies were of this sort, nor does the inclusion of this element necessarily disqualify a work as being considered a biography. Cooper, "Aristoxenos," 320.

³⁷ This is particularly important for the investigation of Hellenistic literature in which Hellenistic historiography as a genre was increasingly focused on central personalities in their narrative. F. Leo, *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie nach ihrer Litterarischen form* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1901), 107.

³⁸ *Contra* Cox, whose suggestions that 1) history was about communities while biography deals with the individual and 2) that biography was not a subgenre of history, create a too rigid differentiation between these two genres, especially at the early stage of biographical development. Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity*, 4-6.

³⁹ One example would be the shift in focus towards the individual in Hellenistic history. Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 20.

One of the first scholars to shape the modern understanding of ancient biography was Friedrich Leo, whose *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie nach ihrer litterarischen Form* is a classic study. Underpinning Leo's structure of ancient biography are the categories of "Peripatetic" and "Alexandrian" biography, in which (practically) every biographical example has to fit.⁴⁰ Although mentioning some of the differences between biography subgenres, particularly those of political and intellectual biography, Leo essentially assumes that for a good part of the Hellenistic era there was practically nothing that truly distinguished these two subgenres.⁴¹ In fact, for a number of decades after Leo it was generally assumed that intellectual and political biography were written side by side in the same manner and presumably on the same scale and by the same authors, both "Peripatetic" and "Alexandrian".⁴² Fritz Wehrli attempts to modify Leo's bipartite structure to include a third type of biography as well as biography's transitional forms. Wehrli proposes that Greco-Roman biography can be (1) lives of philosophers and poets (chronologically arranged); (2) encomia of generals and political leaders; or (3) lives of literary characters.⁴³

Geiger, however, has recently challenged the equating of political and intellectual biography by stating that there are a number of fundamental differences that distinguish them (e.g., the use of sources, subject matter).⁴⁴ Although not completely

⁴⁰ Peripatetic biographies, originating from Aristoxenus of Tarentum (fourth century BC), are arranged in a chronological structure with attention to literary development, and oral performance of these works and have the lives of generals and politicians as the preferred subjects. Alexandrian biography, which is primarily associated with Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, avoided chronological ordering for thematic systematization, was not literary ambitious, and was primarily intended for private study as opposed to public performance. Leo, *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie*, 316-18. A similar model is developed by Talbert, although with the inclusion of an encomium and the popular/romantic life types. C.H. Talbert, *What Is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 92-93.

An interesting proposal by Bollansée suggests that within the Hellenistic period all authors of studies in literary history and biography connected with Alexandria were called Peripatetics, regardless of whether or not they actually belonged to that school. J. Bollansée, *Hermippos of Smyrna and His Biographical Writings: A Reappraisal* (SH 35; Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 10-11, *contra* S. West, "Satyrus: Peripatetic or Alexandrian?," *GRBS* 15 (1974): 279-87.

⁴¹ Leo, *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie*, 1.

⁴² Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 10. There has been much discussion regarding Leo's thesis on "peripatetic" and "Alexandrian" biography types. An in-depth investigation addressing the merits and faults of this perspective is beyond the scope of this work. However, for praise and criticism of this perspective, see Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 65-89; Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 30-32.

⁴³ F. Wehrli, "Gnome, Anekdote und Biographie," *Museum Helveticum* 30 (1973): 193-208, 193.

⁴⁴ Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 20.

explicit, Geiger appears to bifurcate later-Hellenistic (i.e., post-Nepos) biography into two categories, political (including the lives of generals)⁴⁵ and intellectual (philosophers, poets, etc.), while maintaining that there was only one form of biography genre within the early Hellenistic period.⁴⁶

Trying to sidestep some of these issues, Justin M. Smith has most recently proposed a different typology for Greco-Roman biographies that is based on genre theory and the relationships among authors, subjects, and audiences. Accordingly, Smith advances a four-part subgenre organization of Greco-Roman biography: (1) Ancient–Definite; (2) Ancient–Indefinite; (3) Contemporary–Definite; and (4) Contemporary–Indefinite. This typology is based on the following guiding principles: (1) Ancient biographies are those for which the subject was not alive in living memory of the author. (2) Contemporary biographies are those where the subject was accessible to the author via living memory. (3) Definite biographies are those that have a distinguishable audience. (4) Indefinite biographies are those that have no distinguishable audience.⁴⁷

Although there is merit to investigating the relationships of the author, subject, and audience, there are some fundamental problems inherent in using these relationships to provide the primary typology for genre division. First, it is problematic to assume that the author has only one audience in mind, and that the audience(s) functions on only one level. Second, it is not possible to identify definitively the relationship between the subject and author as to whether or not they are contemporary or ancient. It is somewhat presumptuous, moreover, to assume that one can know the relationship between the writer and audience, with or without explicit or implied references in the text. Additionally, to create a full-blown typology of this sort involves being selective and requires omitting works that are fragmentary or that do not explicitly outline the author–subject or author–audience relationship(s).

In contrast to Smith’s relational organisation, Osley posits that the biography genre prior to Plutarch could be subdivided into five categories based on dominant

⁴⁵ Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 92.

⁴⁶ Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 19–21. Citing, Nepos, *pref.* 1. For a discussion of his view of early Hellenistic biography see below.

⁴⁷ J.M. Smith, “Genre, Sub-Genre and Questions of Audience: A proposed Typology for Greco-Roman Biography,” *JGRChJ* 4 (2007): 184–216, 212.

characteristics or “elements”: (1) the encomiastic element (the life of a person, recounted in a flattering and uncritical fashion); (2) the political element (a frank and possibly unfair description of an opponent of a differing opinion, primarily found in Classical Greek literature); (3) the military element (intimate anecdotal accounts of the personal life of a military leader); (4) the academic element (derived from the research of cataloguers in the great libraries); (5) and the philosophic element (for the purpose of providing examples of high character and models of conduct; this element is most persistent in Hellenistic biography and is associated with the peripatetic school of philosophy).⁴⁸

Talbert subdivides didactic biographies into five functional categories: (1) type A: biographies that provide a pattern to emulate (e.g., Lucian’s *Demonax*); (2) type B: biographies that seek to replace a false image of a teacher and/or provide a true representation to be followed (e.g., Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*); (3) type C: biographies that discredit a given teacher through exposé (e.g., Lucian’s *Alexander the False Prophet*); (4) type D: philosophical biographies that indicate where the “living voice” was to be found in the period after the founder, or “succession” (Diogenes Laertius); and (5) type E: biographies that validate and/or provide the hermeneutical key to the teacher’s doctrines (e.g., *Secundus the Silent Philosopher*).⁴⁹

On the whole, it is difficult to provide a secure typology for understanding biography in the early Hellenistic period. Almost all of the extant evidence is fragmentary, available through papyrological finds or through references in later works, and it is only from the beginning of the Roman imperial age that a significant number of complete biographies are available to provide a more stable form of classification.⁵⁰ With this being said, it is clear that there was a distinctive biographical genre in the Hellenistic era that was particularly focused on the lives of

⁴⁸ Osley, “Greek Biography,” 20.

⁴⁹ Talbert, *What is a Gospel?*, 94-96. Talbert’s emphasis on function has been critiqued by Aune. D.E. Aune, “Greco-Roman Biography,” in D.E. Aune (ed.), *Greco-Roman Literature and the New Testament: Selected Forms and Genres* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 107-26, 109. Some other critiques have been raised by Smith, “Genre, Sub-Genre,” 200. This will be further discussed below.

⁵⁰ Swain, “Biography,” 23.

intellectuals.⁵¹ Geiger's proposal that political biography did not commence until Nepos may account for the particular formal features of the sub-genre, but it is inaccurate to presuppose that there was no prior example, especially in light of the number of references to biographies of Alexander and the highly political encomiums in classical times.⁵²

What is important for this study is not necessarily the formation and identification of a number of biographical sub-genres in the Hellenistic era, but rather to establish that there were a variety of biographies throughout this time and that there was development based on cultural interaction. Similarly, there was an emphasis by biographers on intellectual figures, particularly philosophers and their schools. I do not go so far as Geiger to suggest that there were *only* intellectual biographies prior to Nepos,⁵³ but rather affirm that biographies on intellectual persons were a well-established part of the literary milieu. After the first century BC, however, it is possible to discuss with greater precision the existence of multiple sub-genres as well as to delineate their differences and similarities.

On the other hand, what is notably missing from all of the above efforts at classifying ancient biography is an acknowledgement of the genre of collected biographies as a possible over-arching category in its own right. Often subsumed within other sub-categories, collected biographies are all but ignored by modern scholars. This is surprising as one of the most fundamental formal features of biography is the identification of the subject. This is even more surprising when one considers the fact that collected biographies were the dominant form of ancient biography.⁵⁴ This fundamental difference in number of subjects is an important consideration for the understanding of biography at a fundamental level. Although the primary focus of the present study is on collected biographies, especially those of an intellectual nature, a brief introduction to political, military and intellectual

⁵¹ Although Momigliano's statement that intellectuals were not the personas that inspired the creation of the biographical genre, they do appear to form the majority of the later works. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 9.

⁵² For example see the debate surrounding Polybius' *Life of Philopoemen* (Polybius 10.21.5-8) and the likeliness that it is an encomium. F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius Volume 2* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 221; Osley, "Greek Biography," 19.

⁵³ *Passim*, Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*.

⁵⁴ L.C.A. Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," in *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles* (LNTS 289; ECC; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 43-68, 61.

individual biographies (along with their associated collected-biography examples) will be beneficial for later discussion.

1. *Political Biography*

Many authors have provided a thorough justification for political biography as a distinctive sub-genre in their classification system, the most sustained argument given by W. Steidle.⁵⁵ Citing Nepos, *Epam.* 4.6 as “direct evidence,”⁵⁶ along with several other ancient works,⁵⁷ Steidle posits the existence of political biography in the Hellenistic age. Steidle also points to the encomiastic/panegyric works cited in Cicero, *De or.* 2.341 as indicating a strong emphasis on political figures.⁵⁸ Although there are few extant sources for Steidle to cite, his argument is strong that it is difficult to think that Nepos, as political biography’s *terminus ad quem*, had no literary predecessors. That Nepos had no predecessors is especially problematic in light of the discussion of political biographies written by Satyrus as well as the lives discussed in *On Lawgivers* by Hermippus.⁵⁹

More recently, Geiger has confronted the idea that political biography existed in the Hellenistic era.⁶⁰ Specifically challenging the views of Steidle, Geiger attempts to undermine scholarly confidence in the assumption that the political biographical sub-genre existed prior to Nepos and his *De Viris Illustribus*.⁶¹ In contrast, Geiger

⁵⁵ W. Steidle, *Sueton und die antike Biographie* (Zetemata 1; München: Beck, 1951), 144-50.

⁵⁶ “As a matter of fact, I might cite a great many instances, but I must use restraint, since I have planned in this one volume to include the lives of several distinguished men, to whose individual deeds various writers before me have devoted many thousand lines” (Rolfe, LCL).

⁵⁷ As support Steidle cites, Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Caesar*; Polybius, *Philopoemen* (Polybius, 10.21.5-8); Collections of ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν: Megacles περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν FHG 4.443; Athen. 10.419A; Charon of Carthage, βίους ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν and βίους ὁμοίως γυναικῶν FHG 4.360; *Suda* X 137; Theseus FHG 4.518-19 (Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, 7.67, 70); Amphicrates, περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν FHG 4.300 (F1 = Athen. 12.576C); Jason of Nysa, *Suda* I 52, *Lives of Famous Men*; *Successions of Philosophers*; Satyrus, *Lives*; Hermippus, *On Lawgivers*.

⁵⁸ Such figures include: Themistocles, Aristides, Agesilaus, Epaminondas, Philip, Alexander and others. Although Steidle references these works, their validity in support of a political biographical sub-genre is questionable due to their clear encomiastic nature.

⁵⁹ Steidle, *Sueton und die antike Biographie*, 143-44; P.Oxy. 1367. In his discussion regarding *On Lawgivers*, *On the Pupils of Isocrates* and other Hermippic works, and their lack of political overtones, Bollansée states that there appears to be a cumulative case that Hermippus was not writing political biography with his *vitae* of rhetoricians. Bollansée, *Hermippos*, 89-93; J. Bollansée, *FGH* IVA.3 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 96. For a further discussion on Hermippus see below.

⁶⁰ Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 30.

⁶¹ Although a number of scholars would agree that Latin biography did not really develop until the end of the Republic (Varro, *Images*; Nepos, *De Viris Illustribus*), this does not indicate that the sub-

states that the only form of biography within the Hellenistic era was comprised of intellectual biographies of philosophers, poets, literary figures, etc. In his view, political biography was still part of the history genre at this time, due to the similarities in subject matter. Political biography, therefore, only began to differentiate itself through Nepos and his change in the selection and disposition of material, the relative importance of its components, and the narrative technique and form selected.⁶² Addressing the evidence cited by Steidle, Geiger contends that a number of works that have been classified as biographies are too fragmentary to be accurately categorised.⁶³ Though he makes a generally persuasive argument from both the positive and negative evidence, Geiger is at times too dismissive of works that are generically ambiguous due to their fragmented nature.⁶⁴ Despite this, Geiger does successfully call into question the assumption that political biography was a recognised and distinguishable genre in the Hellenistic era prior to Nepos, but does not, I think, definitively eliminate the possibility that there may have been some literary predecessor to political biography.

Following Cornelius Nepos, who is the first agreed writer in this sub-genre, there are numerous examples of political biography.⁶⁵ Particularly abundant are imperial

genre did not previously exist in Greek. R.A. BurrIDGE, "Biography," in S.E. Porter (ed.), *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.-A.D. 400* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 371-91, 376.

⁶² Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 25. Contrast this with the statement by Osley, "By now the various moulds of Greek biography are set; there is no new development until Plutarch gathers the threads and weaves his own pattern." Osley, "Greek Biography," 19.

Other scholars have supported the view that the distinction between history and political biography was not clearly drawn within the ancient world, particularly before Plutarch. T. Duff, *Plutarch's Lives: Exploring Virtue and Vice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 17; Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 83, 117; Cooper, "Aristoxenos," 310.

⁶³ For example, Hermippus, *On Legislators* (P.Oxy. 1367); Pinax, *On the Ptolemies* (P.Haun. 6); Gallo, *Life of Alcibiades* (P.Lit.Lond. 123 = P.Oxy. 411); Anon., *Life of Demosthenes* (PSI 144); Anon. *Anecdote on Pyrrhus* (P.Mil. 2.48); Anon. *The Travels of Solon* (P.Oxy. 680). Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 63-64.

⁶⁴ Geiger would like to bracket out all works that do not have "clear narrative characteristics" from the discussion. Although this is somewhat understandable, the elimination of fragmentary evidence, as well as titular references within other ancient sources, seriously restricts the investigation into the literary environment of the Hellenistic period.

⁶⁵ For a brief and not too flattering introduction to Nepos, see E. Jenkinson, "Nepos—An Introduction to Latin Biography," in T.A. Dorey (ed.), *Latin Biography* (London: Routledge, 1967), 1-15; O. Schönberger, "Cornelius Nepos," *Das Altertum* 16 (1970): 153-63; esp. N. Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos: A Selection, including the Lives of Cato and Atticus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993). For a more recent and more balanced perspective, see F. Titchener, "Cornelius Nepos and the Biographical Tradition," *GR* 50 (2003): 85-99.

biographies, including Plutarch, *Lives*;⁶⁶ Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*; Philo of Byblos, *Vita Hadrian*; Amyntianus, *Alexander*, and *Parallel Lives* of Philip-Augustus, and Dionysius-Domitian;⁶⁷ Aelius Antipater, *Serverus*;⁶⁸ Marius Maximus, *Caesars*;⁶⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*; several lives/encomia of Constantine,⁷⁰ Constans, and Julian; Nicholas of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*;⁷¹ Sextus Aurelius Victor, *Caesars*, and the anonymous *Epitome de Caesaribus* and *Viri Illustres* attributed to him; as well as the non-imperial Cassius Dio, *Live of Arrian*.⁷²

Arguably the most notable Greek biographical writer is Plutarch, whose *Parallel Lives* (along with his *Moralia*) form one of the largest extant corpora of the ancient world. Though fundamentally important for the investigation of ancient biography as a whole, the size of Plutarch's work prohibits a thorough discussion in this necessarily limited introduction. With that being said, Plutarch, as a near-contemporary of Luke and the other gospel writers, can provide insight into the evolutionary nature of this genre form in the Early Empire. The innovative nature of Plutarch's *Lives*, as well as the works of other writers (e.g., Nepos, Suetonius, Philo), illustrates the shifting nature of this genre form within the Early Empire.

Though the individuals that Plutarch investigates were well known figures in antiquity, a number of them having already received biographical treatments, it is Plutarch's style and novel approach and structure that distinguish him from his predecessors.⁷³ Not only does Plutarch redefine the nature of the biographical genre, framing it in terms of chronological outlining and incorporating descriptive and

⁶⁶ It is difficult to assess the profound impact and uniqueness of these authors, particularly Plutarch, who fused Greek and Roman biographical, historical, rhetorical and philosophical traditions. Burridge, "Biography," 376.

⁶⁷ Photius. *Bibliotheca*, 131 (PG 103:416A).

⁶⁸ Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 2.24-25.

⁶⁹ Anthony Birley, "Marius Maximus: The Consular Biographer," *ANRW* II.34.3, 2678-757.

⁷⁰ Including Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*.

⁷¹ FGH 90; *Suda* N 393.

⁷² Swain, "Biography," 23. Swain includes in this list Aspasius of Byblus (FGH 1086 = 792), who actually wrote an encomium on Hadrian (among others), rather than a biography. *Suda* A 4203, Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἀδριανὸν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τινάς. See also Potamon of Mytilene, *Encomium of Brutus* and *Encomium of Caesar* (*Suda* II 2127; FGH 1085 = 147); Aelius Sarapion, *Panegyrikos on Hadrian* (*Suda* Σ 115; FGH 1087); Nicostratus of Macedonia, *Encomium on Marcus Aurelius* (*Suda* N 404; FGH 1089); Telphus of Pergamum, *On the Kings of Pergamum* (FGH 1071); Athenaeus of Naucratis, *On the Kings of Syria* (FGH 1074 = 166).

⁷³ On Plutarch's style, see D.R. Shipley, *A Commentary on Plutarch's Life of Agesilaos: Response to Sources in the Presentation of Character* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 3; D.A. Russell, *Plutarch* (London: Duckworth, 1973), 114-15.

evaluative narration,⁷⁴ he also shifts the function and goal of the biographical task to one that is focused on providing a moral example for the reader to imitate.⁷⁵ This is primarily accomplished through the incorporation of different generic features into the biography genre. This understanding is further discussed in appendix four.

2. *Military Biography*

Although differentiated from other sub-genres by scholars,⁷⁶ there is substantial overlap between military biography and political biography. Not only are many political figures generals, but political figures were heavily involved in military decisions even if they did not have military titles. This is particularly evident with a majority of the early Caesars as well as the *diadochi*.

Arguably the most notable ancient military figure, who also happens to be a political figure, is Alexander III, “The Great”, who like no other figure has inspired literary attention to his youthful achievements. Despite his being the focus of a large number of writings in the Hellenistic era, a majority of the works on Alexander have been lost.⁷⁷ There are a number of reasons why this may have occurred. For example, it is possible that later scribes and copyists did not make new copies due to lack of public interest by later generations who perhaps did not appreciate the style, form, or other characteristics of these works.⁷⁸

Despite the near lack of complete biographies, there are a number of fragments and references to literary works on Alexander that indicate that he was the primary focus in a number of different works. Of the more complete extant works that we do have, there is Diodorus Siculus’ *Bibliotheca historica*, which discusses the life and death of Alexander in book 17, Plutarch’s *Life of Alexander*, and Arrian’s *Anabasis*. Prior to these works, however, there are only fragments that resist genre classification, although some claim that among these works are biographies of

⁷⁴ Russell, *Plutarch*, 115, 122. The explicit pairing of related lives is also an important Plutarchian emphasis according to Duff, *Plutarch’s Lives*, 10.

⁷⁵ *Passim*, Duff, *Plutarch’s Lives*, but esp. 40-47 and 52-71.

⁷⁶ Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 13; Osley, “Greek Biography,” 20.

⁷⁷ For examples, see Osley, “Greek Biography,” 13-15; Swain, “Biography,” 31 n.79.

⁷⁸ Osley, “Greek Biography,” 14-15. For example the bios of Alexander by Hegesias of Magnesia. Dionysius, *Comp.* 4, 18.

Alexander and other military and political figures.⁷⁹ Though ancient sources claim encomia on Alexander exist,⁸⁰ it is difficult to determine confidently if there were political or military biographies of Alexander prior to Plutarch.⁸¹ Athenaeus provides a number of references to various histories of Alexander, yet lacks references to particular biographies,⁸² while the *FGH* dedicates a whole section to histories of Alexander and the *diodochi*.⁸³

Osley, however, maintains that the references to possible biographies of Alexander by ancient writers provide evidence of a political/military biography subgenre.⁸⁴ As mentioned above, Geiger has challenged the view that there were non-intellectual biographies prior to Nepos and consequently suggests that biographies of Alexander did not arise until the Early Empire.⁸⁵ It is clear that Geiger is not claiming that there are no documents regarding Alexander prior to Diodorus, but rather arguing that they are not really biographies.⁸⁶ Other scholars have suggested that some later works show a fusion of biography and history and thus form a new generic category.⁸⁷ Momigliano, trying to trace the development of

⁷⁹ Swain ("Biography," 31) claims that writers in the Hellenistic era were the first to bring proper treatment to the mould of biographies of great individuals. In support of this he cites: Onesicritus, *How Alexander Was Brought Up*; Marsyas of Pella, *The Training of Alexander*; Lysimachus, *On the Education of Attalus*; Satyrus, *Philip II and Dionysius the Younger*; Neanthes, *Attalus I*; Timarchus, *Antiochus* (*FGH* 165); Posidonius, *Perseus of Macedon* (*FGH* 169).

⁸⁰ Theon claims that Theopompus wrote an encomium for both Philip and Alexander in line with that of Isocrates *Evagoras*. Theon, *Progymnasmata*, 68. For a recent discussion, see M.A. Flower, *Theopompus of Chios: History and Rhetoric in the Fourth Century BC* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 38-39. Others have seen Arrian's work in this light, A.B. Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander: Studies in Historical Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 152-55.

⁸¹ Callisthenes is claimed to have written *Deeds of Alexander* while he accompanied him on his campaigns, however, this work is lost. There are, however, a number of works purported to have been written by Callisthenes, but these are pseudepigraphal. For one example see the translation of the ca. 4-5th cent. AD Armenian version by, A.M. Wolohojian, *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969). For the ancients use of Callisthenes as a source (although often with disdain), see Polybius, 12.17; Cicero, *De or.* 2.58; Longinus, *Subl.* 3.2; Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.1.43; Plutarch, *Alex.* 27.3; 33.1, 6.

⁸² E.g., Dorotheus, *History of the Life and Actions of Alexander* (Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 8.4, at least six books); Chares of Mitylene, *History of Alexander* (Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 3.45, 97; 4.71; 8.4; 10.44, 49; 12.9, 54; 13.35, at least ten books); Aristobulus, *History of Alexander* (Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 10.44).

⁸³ *Alexandergeschichte: FGH* 117-53; Diadochen: *FGH* 154-59.

⁸⁴ Osley, "Greek Biography," 13-15, for references to: Callisthenes, Onesicrates, Cleitarchus, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, among other "biographers."

⁸⁵ Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 48. Although Alexander is referenced in Diodorus, *Bib.* 17, according to Geiger, the first Alexander biography would be found in Plutarch's *Lives* followed possibly by Arrian's *Anabasis*.

⁸⁶ L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (APAM 20; New York: APA, 1960).

⁸⁷ E.I. McQueen, "Quintus Curtius Rufus," in T.A. Dorey (ed.), *Latin Biography* (London: Routledge, 1967), 17-43, 17-20. McQueen particularly references Curtius, *Alexander*; Arrian, *Anabasis*; Diodorus, *Bib.* 17.

Greek biography, claims that within the Hellenistic era “the gap between ... historical encomium and a full biography of a king or of a general is so narrow that any neat separation is impossible.”⁸⁸

In light of this confusion it is difficult to determine with certainty the nature of non-intellectual biography in the Hellenistic era. Furthermore, it is not possible to know its exact development and pervasiveness at this time. On the other hand, if Geiger’s view is to be adopted then this confusion vanishes in light of categorising all potential biographical works as encomium or history. This, however, seems to be too simplistic an organizational principle and evidently bypasses some of the claims of ancient authors.⁸⁹ Rather, what we see here is the strong generic relationship between history and biography and the blurring of genre boundaries.⁹⁰

Less debated is the existence of military biographies in the Roman period. Although largely connected with political biographies (especially regarding the Caesars, see above), there are some extant works that particularly focus on military figures. The primary example of this is Tacitus’ *Agricola* (written ca. AD 98), which is dedicated to the life and military deeds of Agricola and his conquest of Britain.⁹¹ As in most cases within the Roman Empire, a successful general attracts the attention of political figures, and so Agricola, through his resounding victories, caused Domitian to become fearful (Tacitus, *Agr.* 39-42). Although only indirect political action was taken against Agricola, the very nature of his conquests and triumph (*Agr.* 40) imbued him with political power. Although the *Agricola* is focused on the protagonist’s military career, there are numerous political overtones that cause this work to resist exclusive sub-categorization as a military biography.

3. Intellectual Biography

The existence of intellectual biography in the Hellenistic age is well attested by fragments and works cited that focus on the lives of poets, sages, writers, healers,⁹²

⁸⁸ Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 83.

⁸⁹ For other critiques of Geiger, see J.L. Moles, “Review of Geiger (1985),” *CR* 39 (1989): 229-33.

⁹⁰ Cf. Theon’s *Progymnasmata*, p. 104 in Patillon.

⁹¹ Although a number of generic labels have been applied to the *Agricola* (Burrige, *What Are the Gospels?*, 151 n.6), it is safe to place it within the biographical genre, despite laudatory tendencies. R.M. Ogilvie and I. Richmond, *Cornelii Taciti: De Vita Agricolae* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 11; H. Heubner, *Kommentar zum Agricola des Tacitus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1984), 139.

⁹² The most notable example of this category would be Soranus, *Vita Hippocrates*, which was written some time between the second and sixth centuries AD. For other versions of Hippocrates’ life, see

saints,⁹³ and above all philosophers. In light of the brief overview of biography's development, it is fair to say that intellectual persons were the dominant biographical subject in the Hellenistic era, especially among Greek speakers.⁹⁴ With a number of extant examples from the Hellenistic era tracing further back to the classical epoch, intellectual biographies provide the core of Greek biography.⁹⁵ This emphasis is so strong that some scholars have considered this subject to have led to the origin of the biographical form.⁹⁶

While a majority of the first ancient biographies were intellectual in nature, not all of them were focused on philosophical characters. Mary R. Lefkowitz, in her standard work *The Lives of the Greek Poets*, examines the biographical traditions of notable Greek poetic figures.⁹⁷ Appreciating the development of the biographical tradition, Lefkowitz traces the origin of biographical material within the various lives back to the poems and writings of the particular poet in focus, suggesting that

Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*, 18-28, 127-34. Soranus is also credited with writing, *On Lives, Schools, and Lives (Successions?) of Physicians* (*Suda* Σ 851; FGH 1062).

Some biblical scholars, such as Berger ("Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament," 1234) and Frickenschmidt (*Evangelium als Biographie*, 79), have claimed that Ps.-Hippocrates, *Epistle* 2, which outlines Hippocrates' genealogy and other biographical details, should be considered a biography. Additionally, they place its composition within the first century BC. Not only is there no precedent for an epistolary biography genre at this time, but there placement of the letter within the first century is problematic. While J.F. Marcks, *Symbolae Criticae* (Diss., Bonn, 1883) was inspirational in dating the letter to the first century, and was followed by R. Philippson ("Verfasser und Abfassungszeit der sogenannten Hippokrates-briefe," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 77 [1928]: 293-328), W.D. Smith's investigation into the papyrological and literary evidence suggests that *Epistles* 1 and 2 were composed *after* the other letters and so should be placed well into the middle ages. W.D. Smith, *Hippocrates Pseudepigraphical Writings: Letters—Embassy—Speech from the Altar—Decree* (SAM 2; Leiden: Brill, 1990), 18-19. Consequently, Ps.-Hippocrates, *Epistle* 2, will not be interacted with further in this work.

⁹³ While this is particularly a Christian category, religious biography clearly has roots prior to the first-century AD. See, for example, the *Vitae Prophetarum* as well as the biographical writings of Philo, particularly *Moses* (although some might wish to include, *Abraham* and *Joseph*, these would only be marginal inclusions).

⁹⁴ For statements regarding the Latin propensity to write biographies about the Emperors, while the Greek writers focused on intellectual figures, see Mark Edwards, *Neoplatonic Saints: The Lives of Plotinus and Proclus by their Students* (TTH 35; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), xx.

⁹⁵ Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 78-79. Jerome cites in the preface of his work four biographers (Hermippus, Antigonus Carystius, Satyrus, and Aristoxenus) who date to the fourth and third centuries BC. Jerome, *Vir. ill. praef.*

⁹⁶ Most notably, Leo, *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie*, 97-99.

⁹⁷ Lefkowitz, *Lives of the Greek Poets*. Poetic lives investigated by Lefkowitz include: Hesiod, Homer, Archaic Lyric Poets, Solon, Simonides, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Comic Poets, and Hellenistic Poets. See also M.R. Lefkowitz, "The Euripides *Vita*," *GRBS* 20 (1979): 187-210.

scholars should be highly sceptical regarding the biographical information inherent within these ancient lives.⁹⁸

Turning to philosophical biographies, according to Diogenes (2.48) Xenophon was the first to write a history of philosophers, possibly referring to the fact that Xenophon was the first to write in a philosophical biography style.⁹⁹ Although there is a lack of extant evidence to corroborate this claim, the statement that there were philosophical biographies throughout the Hellenistic era has significant textual support, particularly among the peripatetics.¹⁰⁰

As discussed above, academic debate regarding the origin of biography proper often centers on the Aristotelian school of the peripatetics.¹⁰¹ While in recent years there has been a growing challenge to the idea that peripatetic biography was the only form of biography, a number of scholars still assert that this school was one of the dominant proponents (if not *the* dominant proponent) of this genre type throughout the Hellenistic era.¹⁰² For example, Aristoxenus, who was originally a Pythagorean by training, but later became a Peripatos, wrote a work titled Περὶ

⁹⁸ Lefkowitz, *Lives of the Greek Poets*, viii. Lefkowitz states that “virtually all the material in all the lives is fiction, and that the only certain factual information is likely to have survived, and then usually because the poet himself provided it for a different purpose.” See also M.R. Lefkowitz, “The Poet as Hero: Fifth-Century Autobiography and Subsequent Biographical Fiction,” *CQ* 28 (1978): 459-69; J.A. Fairweather, “Fiction in the Biographies of Ancient Writers,” *Ancient Society* 5 (1974): 231-75.

⁹⁹ Osley, “Greek Biography,” 9.

¹⁰⁰ With this being said, there were also a number of encomiastic works at this time, such as Clearchus, *Encomium of Plato* (Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, vol. 3; Diogenes, 3.2) and Speusippus, *Plato's Funeral Feast* (Diogenes, 3.2).

¹⁰¹ For example, see Osley, “Greek Biography Before Plutarch,” 11-13, who also references other Alexandrian influences (pp. 13-15). There are, however, other examples of biography around this time, although their fragmented nature makes comparison problematic. See, for example, the writings of Speusippus. L. Tarán, *Speusippus of Athens: A Critical Study with a Collection of the Related Texts and Commentary* (PA 39; Leiden: Brill, 1981), T 1-49 and F 1-87; P. Merlan, “Zur Biographie des Speusippus,” *Philologus* 103 (1959): 198-214; *Suda*, Σ 928; P.Herc. 164; 1021.

¹⁰² Cooper, “Aristoxenus,” 316-17; Jørgen Meyer, *Diogenes Laertius and His Hellenistic Background* (Hermes Einzelschriften 40; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1978), 90.

F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles: Texte und Kommentar* (Basel: Schwabe, 1944-59). In this series, Wehrli compiles the fragments of: Dikaiarchos, Aristoxenos, Klearchos, Demetrios of Phaleron, Straton of Lampsakos, Lykon, Ariston of Keos, Herakleides Pontikos, Eudemos of Rhodos, Phainias of Eresos, Chamaileon, Praxiphanes, Hieronymos of Rhodos, Praxiphanes, Hermippus the Callimachus, and Sotion.

While these writers are predominantly from the peripatetic vein and represent a predominant proportion of the extant biographies in the Hellenistic era, it is important to note that a number of scholars question whether there was a particularly “peripatetic” form of biography to which they and others adhered. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 116-19.

Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ.¹⁰³ There are many features that suggest that Aristoxenus was trying to write a biography. For example, in fr. 11, Aristoxenus describes Pythagoras' origins, in fr. 12 Pythagoras is said to have lived to 82 years of age and took 216 (= 6³) years for each transmigration, and much of the work outlines Pythagoras' travels.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, fr. 14 (Diogenes 1.118) recounts the report that his student Pherekydes was buried beside Pythagoras in Delos suggesting that a discussion of his death might have been included. Other fragments (esp. frs. 18 and 19) suggest that Aristoxenus did not finish his work with the conclusion of Pythagoras' life, but supplied details for his immediate successors as well as third-generation followers.¹⁰⁵

Aristoxenus, in addition to writing a life of Pythagoras, displays his philosophical training by also composing works on Archytas, Socrates, and Plato.¹⁰⁶ Though the works on Pythagoras and Archytas are generally positive in perspective, the portrayals of Plato and Socrates and his school are laced with hints of malice.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, it appears that there may have been some comparisons between these two groups in terms of life-styles and tenets, suggesting that Aristoxenus was offering an evaluation of the different schools and their teachings. This use of derogatory statements/lives became a recurring characteristic of Hellenistic biographies,¹⁰⁸ which were used as weapons against rival philosophical schools. Thus Aristoxenus' writings are self-conscious works that provide both an apologetic for and polemic against various philosophical traditions.¹⁰⁹

After a decrease in extant philosophical biographies between 200 BC and AD 200,¹¹⁰ we know of a much later writer, Lucian, who wrote four individual philosophical biographies. Lucian, however, did not have an apologetic aim of

¹⁰³ All fragments of Aristoxenus are taken from Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, vol. 2, fr. 11-25. See also, Περὶ τοῦ Πυθαγορικοῦ βίου, fr. 26-32 and Πυθαγορικά Αποφάσεις (fr. 33-41).

¹⁰⁴ While Pythagoras' actual life is reported to have been 82 years long, Pythagoras claimed that he had once resided in the body of Euphorbos and so requires multiple age dates.

¹⁰⁵ Cooper, "Aristoxenos," 319. See also, Aristoxenus, fr. 20a, 20b, 25.

¹⁰⁶ Aristoxenus, Ἀρχύτα βίος (fr. 47-50), Σοκράτους βίος (fr. 51-60), and Πλάτων βίος (fr. 61-68).

¹⁰⁷ Aristoxenus, Πλάτων βίος, fr. 68; Porphyry, *Pythagoras*, 53; Aristoxenus, Σοκράτους βίος, 52b, 55, 57-58; Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 75; Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity*, 10.

¹⁰⁸ Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity*, 10; Lefkowitz, *Lives of the Greek Poets*, 23, 96; Pinault, *Hippocrates Lives and Legends*, 11; Tarán, *Speusippus of Athens*, 3-4.

¹⁰⁹ Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity*, 135.

¹¹⁰ This is not to say that there were not any philosophical biographies written at this time, but rather that there was a decrease in prominence and preservation. For examples of works in this time period, see Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 91 n. 60.

defending one particular philosophical tradition, but rather used these biographies to chastise the actions and motivations of the main protagonist, or to provide a model for emulation. For example, in both *Alexander* and *Peregrinus* Lucian creates a picture of two “philosophers” who are not interested in the acquisition or advancement of truth, but rather are seekers of vainglory and make use of deceit in pursuit of such ends. In contrast, *Nigrinus* and *Demonax* speak out against ostentatious wealth (*Nigr.* 13-14) and pride, and provide models for later youth to follow (*Demon.* 2).¹¹¹ In light of these aims, and noting the number of similarities, Clay has suggested that Lucian has created two contrasting pairs of parallel lives.¹¹² This view is questionable as these works were composed at disparate times within Lucian’s career, and so are not chronologically paired. Nevertheless, their clear thematic parallels indicate that these themes were important to Lucian throughout his life.¹¹³

In contrast to the understanding that intellectual biographies had an earlier origin, Burrige has stated that philosophical and religious biography did not develop until sometime during the first century AD.¹¹⁴ Although Burrige is correct in stating that explicit religious biography can likely trace its origins to this time,¹¹⁵ (particularly in light of the unique characteristics of the gospels), it is inaccurate to suggest that philosophical biography had yet to be developed, and to equate these two sub-genres so readily.¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, Burrige fails to take into account adequately the textual evidence found within ancient writers as well as the generic development of

¹¹¹ Although the form of the other three biographies of Lucian are somewhat unremarkable, *Nigrinus* is particular in that it takes the form of a narrative and is prefaced by a letter from Lucian to Nigrinus. While scholars are still content to consider it a biography, it does lack some of the characteristic formal features (such as birth, ancestry, childhood events, death, etc.) of other, even philosophic, biographies.

¹¹² D. Clay, “Lucian of Samosata: Four Philosophical Lives (*Nigrinus*, *Demonax*, *Peregrinus*, *Alexander Pseudomantis*),” in *ANRW* II.36.5, 3406-50, 3409-10. Plutarch, in his *Demetrius* and *Antony*, also outlined negative examples in order that their character flaws might be emulated by others. Duff, *Plutarch’s Lives*, 45-49; Russell, *Plutarch*, 108.

¹¹³ For an attempted chronology of Lucian and his works, see J. Schwartz, *Biographie de Lucien de Samosate* (CL 88; Bruxelles: Latomus, 1965), 149.

¹¹⁴ Burrige, “Biography,” 376-77. Burrige further states that “biography proper starts to appear towards the end of the Republic” (p. 376).

¹¹⁵ See, however, the *Vitae Prophetarum*, which have (generally) been dated to the first century BC.

¹¹⁶ It is fair to say that religious and philosophical *bioi* are related, with the former likely developing from the latter; however, this familiar relationship does not suggest equating them. With this being said, in the latter third and forth centuries AD there is a melding of these sub-genres, for example, Porphyry’s *Plotinus*, Iamblichus’ *On the Pythagorean Life*, and Marinus’ *Proclus*. For a further discussion on works of this period, see Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity*.

the philosophical biographical tradition. With this being said, there seems to have been a notable development in the genre of religious biography in the first few centuries AD. Including such examples as the Gospels and Acts, philosophical biographies in later antiquity incorporated religious themes, positing divinity to be a distinguishing characteristic of the philosopher and the philosophic pursuit of knowledge being a divine endeavour.¹¹⁷

Of particular importance to the study of the gospels has been the work of Philostratus, *Apollonius of Tyana*.¹¹⁸ Though this work is often considered to be a philosophical biography based on Apollonius' strong ties to Pythagoras' teachings, the number of religious features within the work blurs any clear distinction between these two sub-categories.¹¹⁹ This work, along with other second and third century biographies, suggests that there may have been an amalgamation of philosophical and religious biographies. In fact, when evaluating the nature of some later philosophical biographies such as Porphyry's *Plotinus* and *Pythagoras* or Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life*, there are sustained discussions regarding the nature of these works in comparison to their possible Christian counterparts.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity*, 17-18, 43-44; M.J. Edwards, "Birth, Death, and Divinity in Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus*," in Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau (eds.), *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (TCH 31; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 52-71, 65.

¹¹⁸ While Philostratus' work is not the only ancient writing on Apollonius (see also Moeragenes, FGH 1067; Soterichus, *Suda* Σ 877), it is, however, the best represented biography as well as the most referenced. For an overview of the various traditions, see E.L. Bowie, "Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality," in *ANRW* II.16.2, 1652-99. Bowie (1692-99) provides an extensive bibliography of the major books and articles written between 1870 and 1976. For a Christian condemnation of this work, see Eusebius, *Against Hierocles*.

Philostratus' *Apollonius of Tyana* is unique as an ancient biography in that it consists of eight books and is the largest extant Greek biography. In light of this, Bowie has expressed that its similarities with Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, which also has eight books, suggests that Philostratus' work might challenge the biographical classification in that "it falls on the same frontier between biography and history." Bowie, "Apollonius of Tyana," 1665 n.49.

¹¹⁹ Although antagonistically said, Eusebius expresses that Apollonius is not fit to be classed "among philosophers, nor even among the men of integrity and good sense." Eusebius, *Hier.* 4. See also, G. Anderson, *Philostratus: Biography and Belles Lettres in the Third Century A.D.* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 130-31. It should be noted that Apollonius was a biographer in his own right, having penned a *Life of Pythagoras*. FGH 1064; *Suda* A 3420.

¹²⁰ Gillian Clark, "Philosophic Lives and the Philosophic Life: Porphyry and Iamblichus," in Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau (eds.), *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (TCH 31; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 29-51, esp. 41-48.

Similar discussions can be found in works on Athanasius, *Life of Antony* and Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*. A. Cameron, "Form and Meaning: The *Vita Constantini* and the *Vita Antonii*," in Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau (eds.), *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (TCH 31; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 72-88. For questions of Athanasian authorship, see T.D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 240, n. 64 and for Eusebian authorship, see T.

There are specific distinguishing features that scholars point to when characterising intellectual biographies.¹²¹ First is the profession of the subject. Though this alone does not formally disambiguate the different types of biography, the subject matter strongly influences the form in which the material is displayed. Second, depending on the subject and his profession, the work emphasises important events, contributions or actions that make this person worthy of being the focus of a biography. For philosophers in particular, the work often recounts sayings and teachings excised from their original geographical and temporal setting, but which provide pithy representations of the speaker's philosophy. In addition, large sections of the work may be dedicated to blocks of teachings or sayings.¹²² Finally, consistent with the biographical forms above, characteristic formal features (e.g., birth, ancestors, death, etc.) as well as sections on the important deeds of the protagonist are also included. However, in contrast to other subgenres, there is often increased space given to the individual's education and teachers as well as references to their publications.¹²³ Similarly, conflicting reports regarding the death of the subject, with some emphasizing the (semi-)divine nature of the philosopher may also be recounted.¹²⁴

4. *Collected Biographies*

Having completed an outline of biography subdivisions, the remainder of this chapter will focus on the characters, forms, and functions of collected biographies. Although it is primarily this discussion that will form the basis of comparison to Acts in the upcoming chapters, parallels will also be drawn from some of the individual

Hägg, "Hierocles the Lover of Truth and Eusebius the Sophist," *Symbolae Osloenses* 67 (1993): 138-50. In contrast, Barnes is adamant that Eusebius' (so-called) *Life of Constantine* is not a biography at all, and raises some valuable critiques. T.D. Barnes, "Panegyric, History and Hagiography in Eusebius's *Life of Constantine*," in R. Williams (ed.), *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 94-123, 102-103.

¹²¹ For examples of these features, see the relevant sections in Appendix 1.

¹²² A good example of this would be the anonymous *Secundus the Silent Philosopher*, who, after a graphic childhood story and test of his silence, answers twenty questions posed to him by the Emperor Hadrian.

¹²³ For references, see Appendix 1.

¹²⁴ Ava Chitwood, *Death by Philosophy: The Biographical Tradition in the Life and Death of the Archaic Philosophers Empedocles, Heraclitus, and Democritus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004). Note, however, the sharp review by S. Trepanier, *CR* 56 (2006): 286-87.

biographies discussed above. One particular challenge in discussing collected biographies is that we do not know where and with whom this tradition originated, as there are few older extant examples. Nevertheless, the evidence that we do have suggests that there are different strains of collected biographies, those dealing with *περὶ βίων* and the illustrative types, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, and those that trace a succession, whether philosophers or kings.¹²⁵ We will treat these three groups in sequence.

4.1 Περὶ βίων

One of the most prominent forms of collected lives was the *Περὶ βίων*, which was developed by the peripatetics as a means to illustrate virtue and vice.¹²⁶ Highly related to other peripatetic literary forms, a strict delineation of the generic boundaries of *Περὶ βίων* is difficult to provide, particularly due to the different ways that authors made use of this form. Primarily focusing on individuals (although people groups, cities, and nations can also be discussed), this form of biography is heavily moralizing with its primary function being to illustrate the concept that virtuous behaviour is rewarded while those who indulge in vice will (almost) always be punished.¹²⁷ Accordingly, characters are almost statically depicted as pursuing virtue or vice, with the end result being a clear moralistic message.

¹²⁵ Momigliano (*The Development of Greek Biography*, 69-73) appears to suggest that there might be four strands of collected biographies that developed from the Peripatetics; 1) those based on anecdotes that illustrate individual qualities of virtue and vice; 2) those based on individual writers and their contributions; 3) those that focused on “schools”; and 4) collections of anecdotes as a whole. While the second and third groupings are readily acceptable, the first and forth categories can move beyond the focus of the individual and place the ethical matter as the focus of the work. Although themes of virtue and vice are prominent within biographies, their discussion is derived from the protagonist in focus, rather than the other way around. While the first group of *περὶ βίων* will be discussed, Momigliano’s forth group will not.

Geiger (*Cornelius Nepos*, 27) wondered if there were meaningful distinctions between series, referencing the differences in length of lives of Nepos’ *Atticus* and Philostratus’ *Sophists*. While the size of life is no doubt a contributor for differentiation, is likely not the primary distinguisher, but rather it is derivative and indicative of the compilation process. While the *Illustrious Lives* are selected because of their notable character, it is the subject’s notoriety that typically provides a wealth of biographical information. The converse is true for the series biographies in that they are not afforded the opportunity to avoid particular characters that might lack biographical tidbits, which consequently limits the size of work.

¹²⁶ Leo, *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie*, 96-99; Cooper, “Aristoxenos,” 321.

¹²⁷ Wehrli, *Schule des Aristoteles*, 3.58; Cooper, “Aristoxenos,” 323.

For example, Klearchos, in his *Περὶ βίων*,¹²⁸ provides a number of different examples regarding the nature of luxury and how indulgence produces effeminacy. For example, in the Lydians' pursuit of pleasure they began by creating gardens for themselves, which were followed by the adoption of feminine clothing, a trajectory that culminated in a "female tyrant".¹²⁹ Though indulging in pleasure is presented as a negative trait, it is not the ultimate vice, as pleasure leads to hubris, and hubris works its most potent effect when a nation or person is at the height of their power.¹³⁰ Examples of individuals include Dionysius, whose indulgence in luxury resulted in his being overthrown (fr. 47). Conversely, Gorgias' exemplification of a life of wisdom and a rejection of pleasure for pleasure's sake resulted in a long and healthy life (fr. 62).

Antiphon's work *On the Life of the Champions of Virtue* is another set of collected lives that seeks to provide a positive set of moral examples.¹³¹ Considered to have been written in the third or second century BC,¹³² this now-fragmentary work contains biographical material on several people, most likely philosophers, as the available fragments all concern Pythagoras. Though the original extent of the work is unknown, the terms ἀρετή and καρτερία suggest the moralizing nature of the writing and its intended purpose of providing a model for emulation.

Whereas a fair number of *Περὶ βίων* have a particular focus on the individual, the number of works that spotlight the attitudes and actions of a nation differentiate these from the other collected biographies that are almost exclusively focused on individuals. Additionally, although there are consistent ethical overtones to many collective lives, the greater emphasis on the nature of virtue and vice within *Περὶ βίων* to the exclusion of almost all other themes, motifs, and other biographical details, also distinguish this category from other collected biographies.

¹²⁸ Other examples include, Clearchus of Soli, *Περὶ βίων* Wehrli 3, fr. 38, 41, 50-51, 56; Strato of Lampsacus, *Περὶ βίων* (Diogenes, 5.59); Aristoxenus, *Περὶ βίων* (Diogenes, 5.88); Dicaearchus, *Περὶ βίων* (Diogenes, 3.4); and Timotheus of Athens, *Περὶ βίων* (FGH 1079; Diogenes, 3.4-5; 4.4; 5.1; 7.1); Heraclides Ponticus, *Περὶ βίων*, Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles* VII (Diogenes 5.87); Seleucus of Alexandria, *Περὶ βίων*, FGH 1056 (=341/634) F 1. A slight adaptation of this type would be Diocles of Magnesia *Περὶ βίων φιλοσόφων*, who maintains the *Περὶ βίων* form but restricts it to philosophers.

¹²⁹ Wehrli III, fr. 43, 44. See other parallels in fr. 48 (Tartentum) and fr. 49 (Medes).

¹³⁰ See the example about the Scythians, Klearchos, fr. 46.

¹³¹ Antiphon, *Περὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ πρωτεύσάντων*, FGH 1096, F 1.

¹³² J. Radicke, *FGH IVA: Biography, Facile* 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 366-67.

4.2 *De Viris Illustribus*

These works, as apparent from the title, specifically focus on men, often intellectual figures, who have distinguished themselves in some manner so as to warrant biographical treatment.¹³³ Inclusion within such a work is determined by the perspective of the author, who selects individuals based on their perceived merit and contribution to their field.¹³⁴ This is distinguishable from the other category below in which the lineage of a school or doctrine is chronologically traced.

According to Momigliano and others, the archetype in this category was penned by Neanthes of Cyzicus (ca. 275 BC).¹³⁵ Though it is unclear whether this work was composed of short lives or of anecdotes, it represents the first instance of the title *On Illustrious Men* (Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν). It is possible, however, that Callimachus preceded him in subject matter with his *Tables of Men Distinguished in Every Branch of Learning, and their Works* (Πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμπνάντων, καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν), which is comprised of 120 books.¹³⁶ Though this possibly indicates that the origin of this literary tradition was earlier still, Neanthes' title is the first extant example of what later becomes a standard designation.¹³⁷

Hermippus of Smyrna (3rd cent. BC), surnamed the “Callimachian,” suggesting that he may have been a disciple of Callimachus, is also considered to have written a collection of illustrious lives. Although Neanthes may have been the first to provide a standard designation for this type of work, it was Hermippus who popularised it.¹³⁸

¹³³ While a majority of these works are solely focused on the individual, there are two examples of works on Illustrious lives that are based on the context of a city: Philo of Byblus, *About Cites and their Famous Citizens* FGH 1060 (= 790) F 15-51; Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica*; and Timagenes of Miletus, *On the Pontic Heraclea and Its Famous Citizens*, FGH 1116 (= 435).

¹³⁴ By general practice the individuals selected were typically men; however, there are possibly two works reported, but not extant, on women: Charon of Carthage, βίους ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν and βίους ὁμοίως γυναικῶν FGH 4.360; FGH 1077; *Suda* X 137, each in four books; and Artemon of Magnesia *Stories of Virtuous Exploits of Women* FGH 1099; Photius, *Bibl.* 161.

¹³⁵ Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 71; Neanthes of Cyzicus, FGH 84 F 13.

¹³⁶ *Suda* K 227.

¹³⁷ Other examples of this type include: Megacles, Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν FHG 4.443; FGH 1073; Athen. 10.419A; Theseus FHG 4.518-19; FGH 1078 (= 453); *Suda* Θ 363 (Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, 7.67; 7.70); Amphicrates, Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν FHG 4.300 (F1 = Athen. 12.576C); Jason of Nysa, *Suda* I 52, *Lives of Famous Men; Successions of Philosophers*; and *Life of Greece* in 4 books; Nicagoras of Athens, *Lives of Famous Men* (Βίοι Ἐλλογίμων) FGH 1076; *Suda* N 373; Tranquillus, Στέμμα Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων, *Suda* T 895; Sextus Aurelius Victor (ca. 320-ca. 390) *De Viris Illustribus Romae*.

¹³⁸ For example, in Jerome, *Vir. ill.* pref. Hermippus is the first ancient author that is cited as a precedent.

Though there is no reference to any work of Hermippus with a title *Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν*, some scholars have posited that this is because Hermippus' work predates Neanthes'.¹³⁹ It is clear that Jerome placed him within this tradition (*Vir. ill. praeef.*), along with Antigonus of Carystus (late 3rd Cent BC), whose extant *bios* fragments confirm his role as a biographer of collected philosophical lives, although his work on illustrious men has been lost.¹⁴⁰ In addition, a number of Hermippus' fragments are on the topic of schools and philosophic succession to be discussed below (§4.3.1).

With this being said, one of the most important works of Hermippus is his *On Lawgivers*, which comprises at least six books.¹⁴¹ Possibly preceded as a collection of lawgivers by Aristotle's *Politika*,¹⁴² Hermippus' work reports the names of at least eight lawgivers, although it is highly likely that within the multiple volumes there would have been other lawgivers mentioned.¹⁴³ This work appears to be a collection of lives of famous lawgivers which highlights their contributions to the construction and constitution of their respective *poleis*.

Arguably the most prominent early example of this type of collected biographies is that of Nepos, which was discussed above.¹⁴⁴ Although a majority of this work has been lost, the surviving material on foreign generals provides a clear example of a grouping of individuals whose actions warrant emulation.¹⁴⁵ Nepos' inclusion of generals within a collected biography is previously unattested, but it is clear that he was not the first ancient writer to compile lives into a collected biography, although he was definitely one of the first Latin writers to do so.¹⁴⁶ With this being said,

¹³⁹ Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 71; Bollansée, *Hermippos*, 91.

¹⁴⁰ T. Dorandi, *Antigone de Caryste: Fragments* (Budé; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1999).

¹⁴¹ Bollansée, *Hermippos*, F 1-8. Also important for this category would be Hermippus' *Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ σοφῶν*, FGH 1026, F 9-20.

¹⁴² Aristotle, *Pol.* 1269a-1271b (for the Spartan Constitution) and 1273b-1274b (for a list of nine lawgivers).

¹⁴³ Hermippus refers to: Pythagoras (F 1 from book 1), Demonax of Mantinea (F 2-3 from book 1), Kekrops (F 3 from book 2), Buzyges (F 3 from book 2), Archimachus (F 3 from book 2), Triptolemus (F 4 from book 2), Charondas (F 5 from book 6), and Lykurgos (F 6-8, but no book number). Furthermore, at the beginning of F 3 there part of a life of a legislator that is unable to be identified, but can be dated to the time of King Ptolemy.

¹⁴⁴ See also appendix four for a discussion of Philo's collected biography of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

¹⁴⁵ It is generally thought that the books on generals was a late addition to the already established books on intellectuals which consists of at least 16 books (Charisius, *Ars grammatica* 1.141.13), although some have suggested there might be 18 books (which included at least the categories of generals, historians, kings and poets). Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 88.

¹⁴⁶ Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 78-93. Varro's *Imagines* might have been the Latin model/influence for Nepos.

Nepos' work is the first substantially extant collection of lives in either Latin or Greek for any sub-genre of biography.¹⁴⁷

Following Nepos, the now-lost work by Suetonius *On Illustrious Men* (ca. AD 110) is reported to contain sections on grammarians, rhetoricians, poets (Terence, Virgil, Horace, Lucan), orators, and historians. Only the lives of the grammarians and rhetoricians are extant in any length, and an evaluation of the language in these chapters indicates that the work was almost certainly earlier and less developed than his well-preserved *Lives of the Caesars*.¹⁴⁸ Suetonius' *On Grammarians* provides short snippets of various Roman grammarians and his shorter *On Rhetoricians* highlights six Latin writers and speakers. Though he is not particularly interested in the standard features of a life (birth, appearance, death, etc.), Suetonius provides a number of interesting, notable and scandalous details that would entertain the reader.¹⁴⁹

Contemporary with Suetonius, Plutarch is well known as a biographical writer who made use of parallel lives to expound upon moral virtues and vices.¹⁵⁰ Called ἀνδρῶν ἐνδόξων ἀποφθέγματα by Photius (*Bibl.* 161), it is clear that Plutarch's *Lives* used selected subjects to provide a particular model for understanding character in its moral aspect (*Alex.* 1.2, δῆλωσις ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας). Plutarch's specific motivation for pairing the different lives is unknown, but there clearly is a unique relationship between the two subjects in which the first sets up a pattern which is then exploited or varied in the second life.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, though Plutarch focuses on individuals who have accomplished great deeds in their lives, he subverts the standard historiographic focus on great deeds.¹⁵² His shift to focus on trivial details that

¹⁴⁷ Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 66. There are, however, numerous references to biographical collections, as well as some extant portions of the serial biographies by Satyrus, among others.

¹⁴⁸ G.B. Townend, "Suetonius and His Influences," in T.A. Dorey (ed.), *Latin Biography* (London: Routledge, 1967), 79-111, 80-81.

¹⁴⁹ Suetonius, *Gramm.* 9, 23.

¹⁵⁰ Plutarch was not the only author to write *Parallel Lives*, see also, Amyntianus, FGH 1072 (=150) F 1.

¹⁵¹ C.B.R. Pelling, "Synkrisis in Plutarch's *Lives*," in F.E. Brenk and I. Gallo (eds.), *Miscellanea Plutarchea* (*Quaderni del Giornale Filologico Ferrarese* 8; Roma: Ferrara, 1986), 83-96, 93-96.

¹⁵² See also the parallel in Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.32. Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 26-27.

reveal character emphasises his moralistic goal, which differentiates him from some other writers of this type.¹⁵³

It is through programmatic statements, moreover, such as the one found in *Aemilius* 1.1-4, that the main purposes and goals of Plutarch's writings are elucidated. In the proem of *Aemilius*, Plutarch expresses the notion that spending time admiring the virtuous actions of others develops a longing for virtue within oneself; there is nothing more effective for the improvement of character (*Aem.* 1.4, πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἡθῶν).¹⁵⁴ Accordingly, the pairing of Aemilius and Timoleon provides the "best of examples" (τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν παραδειγμάτων) for the modeling of virtue. As a result, Plutarch in his *Lives* invites readers to model their life directly on the lives of his virtuous men.¹⁵⁵

Solidifying this understanding and motivation are the formal *synkriseis* (σύνκρίσεις) located at the end of the pairings. Comparison of subjects is not unique to Plutarch,¹⁵⁶ but his forming of completely distinct sections for this purpose highlights the importance of this comparison for his work. Furthermore, though there is some repeated material in the *synkriseis*, the presentation of actions and motivations is not identical with that found in the original lives.¹⁵⁷ Through the appending of a *synkrisis*, Plutarch seeks to explore moral issues raised within the work which are designed to make the reader ask new and challenging questions about moral virtues.¹⁵⁸ By placing side by side the lives of two individuals who originated in different cultures and different periods, attention is focused on the shared aspects of the lives, such as character and moral status.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ Plutarch, however, does not always ignore the large actions to focus on the smaller ones. Duff has suggested, I think convincingly, that such programmatic statements by Plutarch are limited to the life pairing in which they are found. Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 21.

¹⁵⁴ In evaluating biography proems Stadter expresses that there is a "radical difference" in proem themes of individual and collected biographies. P.A. Stadter, "The Proems of Plutarch's *Lives*," *ICS* 13 (1988): 275-95, 283.

¹⁵⁵ Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 33.

¹⁵⁶ See for example, Xenophon, *Ages.* 9.1-5; Isocrates, *Evag.* 37-39. In addition, the use of comparison was encouraged by rhetoricians. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1368a 19-26; Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 2.4.21; Theon, *Progym.* 10; Hermogenes, *Progym.* 8; Aphthonius, *Progym.* 10; Nicolaus, *Progym.* 9.

¹⁵⁷ For example, see the inclusion of two additional brutal actions by Sulla towards his friends after he had been giving ultimate power. Plutarch, *Comp. Lys. Sull.* 2.4.

¹⁵⁸ Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 283-86; S. Swain, "Plutarchan Synkrisis," *Eranos* 90 (1992): 101-11, 104-106.

¹⁵⁹ C.P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 103-109.

Although slightly beyond the temporal scope of this work, Jerome's preface to *On Illustrious Men* has been of great importance for the discussion of this literary type.¹⁶⁰ Consisting of one hundred and thirty-five paragraphs of varying lengths (beginning with St. Peter and ending, uniquely, with himself), this work tries to persuade its reader of the richness of Christian literature.¹⁶¹ While he is the first Christian author to make use of the illustrious lives sub-genre,¹⁶² Jerome commences by paying homage to the pagan literary figures who preceded him in writing about Illustrious Men.¹⁶³ Scholars interpret Jerome's reference as indicating a literary tradition and the prestige that had been attached to these prior authors, and not as Jerome identifying the first representatives of the genre.¹⁶⁴

Jerome's discussion of individuals is focused on their deeds and actions. Though this is true of most ancient biographies, the motivation for Jerome's emphasis is somewhat different from the motivations behind other forms of collected biographies. For example, though Plutarch examines the actions of his subjects, it is with the intention of delineating their virtues and vices in order to elicit (positive) change within the reader.¹⁶⁵ Morals are important in the *Illustrious Lives*, but the grandness of the deeds and accomplishments, as well as their entertainment value, takes primary focus over their moral components.¹⁶⁶ On the other hand, it is important to note that a majority of the illustrious men whose lives are extant are of notable

¹⁶⁰ For dating, see T.D. Barnes, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study* (rev. ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 235-36; S. Rebenich, *Jerome* (ECF; London: Rutledge, 2002), 97.

¹⁶¹ See J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London: Duckworth, 1975), 174-78.

¹⁶² For example, Gennadius of Marseille (ca. 495), in *De Viris Illustribus*, wrote on the literary accomplishments of nearly a hundred church writers who came after Jerome.

¹⁶³ "A similar work has been done by Hermippus the peripatetic, Antigonus Carystius, the learned Satyrus, and most learned of all, Aristoxenus the Musician, among the Greeks, and among the Latins by Varro, Santra, Nepos, Hyginus, and by him through whose example you seek to stimulate us—Tranquillus." Jerome, *Vir. ill. praef.*

¹⁶⁴ Leo, *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie*, 17. It is clear that the names in Jerome's preface are not in chronological order and, therefore, should not be understood temporally. With this being said, Geiger's statement that they are not out "of necessity the first ones in the genre" does not rule out the fact that one of these authors might have been the originator or programmatic author of this type. Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 32.

¹⁶⁵ Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 40-47, 52-71.

¹⁶⁶ This is certainly not to say that there are no moral emphases within these lives, there are; however, their relative importance and emphasis are somewhat diminished. Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 24. Geiger (25) further suggests that the nature of political and military lives encourage greater focus on morals than their intellectual/philosophic counterparts that make up the majority of collected biographies.

character. Suetonius may not portray his characters in the most positive light,¹⁶⁷ but other writers, such as Nepos and Jerome, provide a more positive portrait of their subjects. It is clear, however, that the motivation for each author's positive portrayal of his subjects is different.

Other examples, such as Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* and Eunapius' *Lives of the Philosophers* do not fit neatly into the category of Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν.¹⁶⁸ Though both authors select the most notable members of their professions, there is often reference to successions of teachers, pupils and schools, which blur the boundary between this category and the one discussed below. However, since the works by Philostratus and Eunapius are not structured according to linear succession, their classification in this section is warranted. Roughly concurrent with Diogenes' work, Philostratus' *Lives*, written in two books,¹⁶⁹ focuses on notable and illustrious sophists, beginning with their ancient Greek origins in the fifth century BC. After highlighting the sophists of the fourth century BC, Philostratus, with his classicising outlook, all but omits the Hellenistic rhetors and moves on to his contemporaries—the Atticising sophists of the “Second Sophistic” movement (*Vit. soph.* 481, 507).

Philostratus' *Lives* has been described as a “*bios* in a rhetorical style,”¹⁷⁰ and as “neither scholarly nor authoritative but mainly anecdotal.”¹⁷¹ Whatever its classification, it is clear that Philostratus was particularly interested in answering criticisms against being a sophist.¹⁷² With this being said, he does provide some of the characteristic biographical features expected within such a work—birth, ancestry, style, death—although it appears that these details are secondary to his work as a

¹⁶⁷ For example, Suetonius (*Rhet.* 6) presents Gaius Albucius Silus as a fearful person and recounts his two most famous defeats in court. Similarly, Marcus Epidius (*Rhet.* 4), the teacher of Mark Antony and Augustus, is introduced as a *calumniatus* and, after a jeer against Epidius, makes a report that Epidius after coming out of the source of the river Sarnus with bull's horns disappeared and was considered a god. These examples, and the nature of his *Lives of the Caesars*, indicate that Suetonius' primary motivation was for entertainment rather than education.

¹⁶⁸ Early examples with similar titles include Alcidas, *On the Sophists* and Isocrates, *Against the Sophists*, although the latter is not a work that discusses individual sophists, but rather an educational advertisement for when Isocrates started up his own school.

¹⁶⁹ See Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 479, although *Suda* Φ 421 states that it was written in four books. Furthermore, *Suda* Φ 423 indicates that there was some confusion regarding which Philostratus to attribute the *Lives of the Sophists* to.

¹⁷⁰ “βίος im rhetorischen Stil,” Leo, *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie*, 258.

¹⁷¹ Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 15.

¹⁷² Anderson, *Philostratus*, 25.

whole since they are provided sporadically.¹⁷³ Similarly, other biographical information, such as works published by the sophist in view, is spotty at best and is often incomplete.¹⁷⁴ Philostratus himself claims that biographical details are of secondary concern compared to a sophist's virtues or vices and an account of whether or not he succeeded or failed in his career.¹⁷⁵

It has been noted that Philostratus' *Lives* displays a strong propensity towards gossip and scandal.¹⁷⁶ It is true that those whose lives are virtuous are often credited with long life,¹⁷⁷ and those whose lives are full of vice die early or viciously,¹⁷⁸ but Philostratus' *Lives* are also full of scandalous events and stories that often have little to do with the overall presentation of a sophist's character.¹⁷⁹ It appears that these stories are provided to entertain the reader, rather than to promote a particular lifestyle or to elicit positive change within the reader.

Philostratus' work differs from the writings about school and succession below (e.g., Diogenes' *Lives*) in a number of ways. First, is his treatment of sources. Whereas one of the defining characteristics of Diogenes' work is his near obsessive citation of sources, Philostratus is markedly different in that he is quite reluctant to identify the source of his information or quotations. It appears that Philostratus' most consistent source was personal reminiscence, notably those of "his former teacher" Damianus, Ctesidemus the Athenian, and one of Philostratus' older colleagues, Aristaeus.¹⁸⁰ Another important difference is the role of succession. As discussed below, identifying philosophical lineages and outlining the chain of authority for schools was one of the primary features of Diogenes' work. In Philostratus' *Lives*, on the other hand, the theme of succession is practically non-existent. Not only does he totally skip over the Hellenistic era in his love for all things classical, he also bypasses various sophists based on his disdain for their sophistic prowess.¹⁸¹ With this being said, it is true that Philostratus does mention

¹⁷³ A typical example of a brief life would be Secundus, (Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 544-45), where as the section on Polemo before him is one of the largest (Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 530-544).

¹⁷⁴ Anderson, *Philostratus*, 32.

¹⁷⁵ Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 480, 498.

¹⁷⁶ Anderson, *Philostratus*, 58-59.

¹⁷⁷ Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 494, 506, 515.

¹⁷⁸ Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 500-501, 502.

¹⁷⁹ Some of the more sensational examples would be, Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 516-17, 610.

¹⁸⁰ Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 605, 579, 552, 550 and 524, respectively.

¹⁸¹ Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 511.

the sophist's teacher in a number of lives,¹⁸² but this does not provide the underlying structure for the *Lives*. Rather, Philostratus is quite free in selecting his subjects based solely on his opinion of their skills.

Finally, although Eunapius' *Lives* is outside the temporal purview of this work, its pairing and similarities with Philostratus' *Lives* warrants brief consideration. Written in the early fifth century AD, Eunapius' work deals with philosophers and historical events between ca. AD 270 and 404, and similarly to Philostratus and the author of the *Historia monachorum* (*pref.*, 3, 12),¹⁸³ Eunapius (*Vit. phil.* 482, 485, 493, 494, 500, 502) says that he was personally acquainted with a number of his subjects. Similarly to other collections in not tracing a school's succession, Eunapius' work differs in that it focuses on the main achievements of distinguished people (not their casual doings),¹⁸⁴ but, at the same time, does not confine its discussion only to the most illustrious (*Vit. phil.* 453).¹⁸⁵

4.3 Schools and Successions

Though I group schools and successions together in this section it is important at the outset to differentiate between them. At the most fundamental level they are related in that both are concerned with the delineation and development of authority. However, in collected biographies, the discussion of schools is often reserved for intellectual subjects (such as literature, philosophy, sophistry, etc.), while the topic of succession is found among intellectual, military, and political biographies. The concept and importance of succession was widespread throughout antiquity. Accordingly, there are a large number of references to successions and the sequence of leaders in a variety of literary works.¹⁸⁶ Though the focus of this section will be

¹⁸² Philostratus also makes a number of internal references to the different sophist who interacted in their own generation. For a helpful chart distinguishing the sophists' generations, see Anderson, *Philostratus*, 84.

¹⁸³ For the edition used, see A.-J. Festugière, *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1961). For the English translation, see N. Russell, *The Lives of the Desert Fathers* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian, 1981).

¹⁸⁴ While this is mostly men, there is a notable mention of a female Sosipatra, Eunapius *Vit. phil.* 466-70.

¹⁸⁵ Although, see Eunapius' comment in *Vit. phil.* 494 in which he states that the quality of the work does not allow for inferior speeches to be recorded as his work is not a satire (οὐ χλευασμός).

¹⁸⁶ For a list of such references, see C.H. Talbert, "Succession in Luke-Acts and the Lukan Milieu," in *Reading Luke-Acts in its Mediterranean Milieu* (SupNovT 107; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 19-55, 19-21.

on intellectual succession, we will commence with works treating political succession.

Mentioned above, a number of the political biographies, particularly those of Latin origin, are focused on imperial succession. Most notable is Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, which traces the succession of Emperors from Julius Caesar to Domitian. Similarly, the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, which contains 30 different lives, also traces the lives of the Caesars in the period of AD 117-284 as well as of their junior colleagues and usurpers.¹⁸⁷ Likewise, Aurelius Victor's *Caesars* and the anonymous *Epitome de Caesaribus* trace the succession of the Emperors from Augustus.¹⁸⁸

4.3.1 Philosophical Schools and Succession

Succession literature on philosophers traces the history of philosophic movements through teacher-student relationships. The earliest extant example of a set of philosophical collected biographies comes from around the second century BC, with this literary form flourishing in the second and first centuries BC.¹⁸⁹ The work of Diogenes Laertius is the primary example of this type of literature and is part of a larger stream of such writings which has its *terminus a quo* in the fourth century BC with Pha(e)nias of Eresus' *Περὶ Σωκρατικῶν*.¹⁹⁰ This literary type (with only minor changes) continued well into the next millennium and became an important literary

These references often mention succession or a person's hope to succeed in isolation rather than providing succession lists as a whole.

¹⁸⁷ While similar to Suetonius' work in a number of ways, the Augustan History is unique in that it was written by (at least) six authors, with a number of lives found within each of the overarching life. When it comes to dating this work, there is evidence of forgery for later lives; however, the earlier lives appear mostly authentic. This would place the final redaction until after the fourth century maybe fifth century AD. A.R. Birley, "The Augustan History," in T.A. Dorey (ed.), *Latin Biography* (London: Routledge, 1967), 113-38, 125-26, 133.

¹⁸⁸ See also the reference to Tranquillus, *Καيسάρων* [περιέχει δὲ βίους καὶ διαδοχὰς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Ἰουλίου ἕως Δομετιανοῦ] βιβλία η' (*Suda* T 895). Dio Cassius also references succession at different times in his *Roman History*, 2.11.12; 44.34.5; 48.15.4; 49.17.6.

¹⁸⁹ A section of "Successions" writers include: Sotion, Diogenes 2.12, 75; Eunapius *Vit. phil.* 454; Heraclides Lembus, FHG 3.169-71; Sosicrates, FGH 461; FGH 4.500-503; Alexander, FGH 274 F 85-93; Jason of Nysa, *Φιλοσόφων διαδοχὰς*, *Suda* I 52; Antisthenes, FGH 508 F 3-15; Nicias FGH 4.464. For a discussion of dates for these authors, see Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 63-64.

¹⁹⁰ Pha(e)nias of Eresus, *Περὶ Σωκρατικῶν* Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles* 9, 9ff, frs. 30-31. This work is fragmentary and so it is possible that it might not fit within this category. Nevertheless, other fragmentary references easily support the idea that a third century BC date would be the latest for its inception.

form for philosophical schools and writers.¹⁹¹ Aristoxenus, another peripatetic, also wrote a pair of works that fit in this category—Περὶ τοῦ Πυθαγορικοῦ βίου and Περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ—the latter of which provide details about Pythagoras' disciples. Although the works do not provide a full biographical description of the disciples from “life to death,” some of their deaths are recounted (Pherecydes fr. 14; Lysis and Xenophilos fr. 20a; Gorgias fr. 20b).

A similar succession work was also written by Hermippus. When evaluating Hermippus' *On Those Who Converted from Philosophy to <...> and the Exercise of Power*, Bollansée cautiously suggests that Hermippus had already put together the lives of philosophers of specific schools into larger wholes, such as Socrates and the Socratics (F 67-68), Plato and the Academics (F 69-72), Aristotle and the Peripatetics (F 28-33, 34-38, 69), the Megarians (F 76-79), the Cynics (F 80), the Stoics (F 81), and the Epicureans (F 82-83).¹⁹² Müller, investigating the structure of Hermippus' writings, has suggested that in Hermippus' works on Pythagoras, Isocrates, and Aristotle, the first book is devoted to the life of the central figure and is followed by a second book on their pupils.¹⁹³ Although this view is attractive and has acquired some followers, Bollansée has expressed a need for caution in light of the scarcity of evidence.¹⁹⁴ So caution is needed, but there appears to be some justification for identifying a pairing of teacher/disciple works, since Hermippus' *On Aristotle* (F 33) references Aristotle's pupils and the succession of those who headed the Academy. Furthermore, Hermippus wrote both *On Isocrates* (F 42-44) and *On the Pupils of Isocrates* (F 45-54), the one work dedicated to the life of the founder, the other a separate work on his pupils. The exact relationship between these two works is debated; however, it is undeniable that there is some connection and

¹⁹¹ Other examples include: Antigonus Carystus, Διαδοκὴ τῶν φιλοσόφων; Ischomachus, *On the School of Hippocrates* FGH 1058 F 1; Christodorus of Coptus, *On the Disciples of the Great Proclus*, FGH 1084 F 2; Anaxilides, *On Philosophers*, FGH 1059 F 1 (Diogenes, 3.2); Nicander of Alexandria, *On Aristotle's Disciples* (Suda AI 354; FGH 1112, although likely invented); Alexander Polyhistor, Διαδοκὴ τῶν φιλοσόφων; Aristo of Keos, *Lives of the Philosophers*, Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles* 6, 31ff, frs. 28-32W; Chamaeleon, *Lives of Poets*, Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles* 9, 49ff; Sotion, *Succession of the Philosophers*, Diogenes 2.12, 75; Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles* Supp. II; Nicias of Nicaea, Διαδοκαί, Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 6.91; 13.591.

¹⁹² Bollansée, *Hermippos*, 97.

¹⁹³ Müller, *FHG* III, 41-42, 45-46, 49-51.

¹⁹⁴ Bollansée, *Hermippos*, 58.

dependence, even though *On the Pupils of Isocrates* seems to have circulated as a separate book.¹⁹⁵

Another notable example of an author in this movement would be the Epicurean Philodemus, whose ten-book work, *Syntaxis of Philosophers* (Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων), is referenced by Diogenes (*Lives* 10.3, 24). Though this work is no longer extant, it is possible that some parts have been recovered from the Herculaneum library. Most important for this study are the fragments P.Herc. 1018 (*Index Stoicorum*), and 1021 and 164 (*Index Academicorum*),¹⁹⁶ although other related works by Philodemus include a joint edition of sections on the Eleatic and Abderite schools (P.Herc. 327), the Pythagorean and Epicurean schools (P.Herc. 1508 and 1780, respectively) and a succession list of Socratic heads of schools (P.Herc. 495 and 558).¹⁹⁷ There are two extant copies of Philodemus' *Index Academicorum*, although it has been determined that P.Herc. 1021 is a rough draft, whereas P.Herc. 164 is the final published version.¹⁹⁸ Exhibiting some notable similarities to the succession narratives in Diogenes, this work is focused on the succession of the heads of the Academy and is augmented by anecdotes, biographical details and episodic accounts.¹⁹⁹ Likewise, the *Index Stoicorum* outlines the major Stoic leaders in succession.²⁰⁰

The most studied succession work is the *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* by Diogenes Laertius, with scholars being almost exclusively focused on the role of excerpts and dissecting his work to find the sources that he used.²⁰¹ It is true that Diogenes references and cites a number of works that are now lost, but it is

¹⁹⁵ Bollansée, *Hermippos*, 59.

¹⁹⁶ For editions, see, respectively, T. Dorandi, *Filodemo: Storia dei filosofi, Platone e l'Accademia* (P.Herc. 1021 e 164) (Napoli: Bibliopolis, 1991); T. Dorandi, *Filodemo: Storia dei filosofi, la Stoà da Zenone a Panezio* (P.Herc. 1018) (Leiden: Brill, 1994). Also of interest for the study of philosophical biography are: P.Herc 1044 (Βίος Φιλωνίδος) and P.Herc. 176 (Περὶ Ἐπικούρου).

¹⁹⁷ M. Gigante, *Philodemus in Italy: The Books from Herculaneum* (trans. D. Obbink; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 21.

¹⁹⁸ Dorandi, *Filodemo: Storia dei filosofi*, 25 n.1. For example, in the margin of P.Herc. 1021, col. 4, some names are added to the list of Plato's disciples, while in P.Herc. 164, F 12, the names occur in the main text.

¹⁹⁹ P.Herc. 1021, col. 5.32-33 states "The following were disciples of Plato" (Πλάτωνος μαθηταὶ ἦσαν [α]νδρες...) and P.Herc. 1021, col. 4.1a-15 and P.Herc. 164, F 12, provide a fragmented list of names.

²⁰⁰ For examples, Persaeus, P.Herc. 1018, col. 15.1-8; Chrysippus, P.Herc. 1018, col. 46.1-5.

²⁰¹ For an overview of the importance of sources and excerpts within Diogenes' work, see Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 7-46; D.E. Hahm, "Diogenes Laertius VII: On the Stoics," *ANRW* II.36.6, 4076-182, 4079-82. Although this emphasis is unfortunate, the number of works that Diogenes cites that are no longer extant is impressive. This only emphasises our lack of knowledge regarding the state of biography in the Hellenistic era. For a list of Diogenes' references, see Appendix 2.

unfortunate that scholars have focused so much on the sources and have not given due attention to the composer of the work and the structure that he created.²⁰² Comprised of ten books, Diogenes' *Lives* is fundamentally based on the founder-successors of ten different philosophical schools (αἰρέσεις, 1.18) and has often been categorised as "succession literature".²⁰³ Diogenes further subdivides each of the ten books according to the founder and school in focus, in which a number of *topoi* are employed.²⁰⁴ Though it is accurate to state that the biographical portion is quite important to Diogenes, there is a substantial amount of space dedicated to the writings, personal documents and wills of the persons treated.²⁰⁵

An explicit purpose statement is missing from the prologue of Diogenes' work; however, there are a few passages that provide insight into his motivation for writing and that suggest that Diogenes was particularly interested in the individuals and the schools' successions rather than in the philosophical systems.²⁰⁶ For example, in his discussion of Plato (3.47), Diogenes states that he felt it necessary to include a treatment of Plato's dialogues, "in order that the facts I have collected respecting his life may not suffer by the omission of his doctrines..." Similarly, there is a focus on

²⁰² That Diogenes was aware of other organizational methods is clear (1.13-15). See the discussion in James Warren, "Diogenes Laërtius, Biographer of Philosophy," in Jason König and Tim Whitmarsh (eds.), *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 133-49, 139-40.

²⁰³ Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 62-74; Hahm, "Diogenes Laertius VII," 4083; Rosa Giannattasio Andria, *I frammenti delle "Successioni dei filosofi"* (Napoli: Arte Tipografica, 1989), 15-28.

²⁰⁴ Typically *topoi* include: Origin, Education, Foundation/Succession, Appearance/Qualities, Political Activities, Students/Disciples, Other Important Events, Anecdotes, Apophthegms, Chronological Data, Account of Death, Writings, Doctrines, Personal Documents, Homonyms. See M.G. Sollenberger, "The Lives of the Peripatetics: An Analysis of the Contents and Structure of Diogenes Laertius' 'Vitae Philosophorum' Book 5," *ANRW* II.36.6, 3792-3879, 3800-801; Hahm, "Diogenes Laertius VII," 4083. Alexander posits 11 *topoi*, see Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 50-56.

²⁰⁵ For example, Sollenberger states that approximately two-thirds of each life in book 5 is dedicated to bibliographic lists, wills and homonyms. Sollenberger, "The Lives of the Peripatetics," 3878. Majer further affirms that writings, particularly letters, are appended to the end of the life; however, this is not obligatory. Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 24. For examples, see Appendix 1.

²⁰⁶ Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 2. For example, in book five, Diogenes only provides the doctrines of Aristotle, but provides a large number of biographical facts for Aristotle and his successors. For a helpful chart of book five, see Sollenberger, "The Lives of the Peripatetics," 3803. Fraser has suggested that succession is the main feature of Diogenes' work. P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 1.453, 781; see also, Hahm, "Diogenes Laertius VII," 4083, esp. for Zeno and Cleanthes.

With this being said, one of the main differences between Diogenes' *Lives* and other biographies, such as those by Plutarch, is that Diogenes fails to provide specific ethical *exempla*, either positive or negative, except for the general recommendation of a life of philosophy. Warren, "Diogenes Laërtius," 148. P. Cox Miller, "Strategies of Representation in Collected Biography," in Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau (eds.), *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (TCH 31; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 209-54, 218-19.

the person of Epicurus in 10.28-29 that frames the discussion of his works and philosophical system in order that “you may be in a position to study the philosopher on all sides and know how to judge him.”²⁰⁷ Other times in his narrative, Diogenes, when completing his discussion of a person, frames his remarks not in terms of the person’s belief or teachings, but in terms of the person’s character.²⁰⁸

Evaluating the different lives found in Diogenes, it is clear that not all individuals get equal exposure or space, but, rather, there is a preference given to those philosophers who have either founded a school or have made a notable philosophical contribution. It is not incidental that these are the people for whom there is the most biographical information. In contrast, there are some lives in Diogenes’ work that are incredibly short and provide almost no biographical or doxographical information.²⁰⁹ Other lives, such as those of Claucon, Simmias, and Cebes (2.124-25) provide only bibliographic information and a brief statement of citizenship. Notably different are those lives of Plato and Epicurus, which comprise the whole of books three and ten, respectively, and Zeno, who dominates book seven. Though these philosophers have distinct biographical sections, Diogenes also includes a doxographical section that outlines their philosophical system.²¹⁰ Regarding these post-Socratic schools, it is the founder’s philosophical perspective that is assumed to have been adopted by the disciples in their succession. Though complete fidelity to the founder’s philosophical system by every disciple is clearly wishful thinking, the lack of discussion regarding variations indicates that Diogenes’ focus is not on the evolution and development of philosophical thought, but rather on the people who embodied these particular movements and their actions and sayings.²¹¹

The variation in the size of his lives seems to indicate that Diogenes thought that he was not at liberty to select only certain philosophers for his work. Rather, as he was recounting a succession, Diogenes apparently felt obligated to discuss each

²⁰⁷ Other examples include: Diogenes, 4.1; 5.21; 8.1.

²⁰⁸ E.g., Thales 1.21; Socrates’ disciples 2.47; Aristippus 2.85; Pythagoras 8.50; Timon 9.115; and Epicurus 10.138.

²⁰⁹ Clitomachus 4.67; Epicharmus 8.78; Alcmaeon 8.83; Hippasus 8.84; Philolaus 8.84-85; Melissus 9.24.

²¹⁰ Mejer rightly points out that, although doxographical information is not readily present within the lives of the disciples, it is generally subsumed within the life of the founder. E.g. Plato 3.47-109; Aristotle 5.28-34; Cynics 6.11, 103-105; Stoics 7.38-160; Epicurus 10.29-154. J. Mejer, “Diogenes Laertius and the Transmission of Greek Philosophy,” *ANRW* II.36.5, 3556-602, 3563.

²¹¹ The notable exception to the lack of doxographies within the disciples can be found in the dissident members of the Stoics: Aristo 7.160; Herillus 7.165; Dionysius 7.166.

individual link, regardless of whether there was much biographical information. Diogenes' preference for Apollonius' work on the Stoics in book seven over other sources because of its comprehensiveness and wide number of complementary literary *topoi*, shows this preference.²¹² Indeed, Diogenes himself emphasises this point when he references the "sporadic" philosophers that resist school classification (8.91; 9.20).

Most attempts to identify the genre of Diogenes' *Lives* have concluded that it is a mixture of genres (particularly formed from biography, historical composition, and doxography) and part of the "history of philosophy" tradition. Challenging this compound-genre label Mejer tries to provide a more nuanced definition and understanding of what exactly is meant by "history of philosophy."²¹³ Acknowledging that fragmentary works prevent definite conclusions, Mejer's investigation of Diogenes' sources finds that "history" of philosophy is not an accurate title.²¹⁴ Mejer's exploration is helpful for understanding some of Diogenes' sources and influences, but he does not satisfactorily identify explicitly the generic makeup of Diogenes' *Lives* as a whole. Rather, his investigation leads the reader to believe that Diogenes, through his adoption of sources, made use of a number of traditions (biography, doxography, succession narratives), but in the end the work is distinct from other books. Though I agree with Mejer as to the uniqueness and inventiveness of Diogenes' work, exemplified through the adaptation of his sources, Mejer's definition of the "history of philosophy" is too broad to facilitate nuanced differentiation between related works. On the other hand, Mejer is correct in placing Diogenes' work (and a majority of his sources) in the category of biography and in identifying possible genres that may have influenced Diogenes.²¹⁵

Building on some of Mejer's ideas, I agree that Diogenes' *Lives* provides an important example of a blending of various literary traditions.²¹⁶ That Diogenes is

²¹² Hahn, "Diogenes Laertius VII," 4167.

²¹³ Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 61.

²¹⁴ Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 62.

²¹⁵ J. Mejer, "Biography and Doxography: Four Crucial Questions Raised by Diogenes Laertius," in Michael Erler and Stefan Schorn (eds.), *Griechische Biographie in hellenistischer Zeit: Akten des internationalen Kongresses vom 26.-29. Juli 2006 in Würzburg* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 431-41, 435.

²¹⁶ Mejer ("Biography and Doxography," 440-41) posits that Diogenes' *Lives* is a blend of biography and doxography. On the other hand, Warren ("Diogenes Laërtius," 149) suggests that Diogenes' *Lives* is a combination of biography and succession narrative.

highly influenced by and dependent on his sources is undeniable. On the other hand, his blending of material, bringing in information from different sources while maintaining much of their essential nature, results in a unique literary work that resists rigid generic classification. Of course this does not mean that all influences are equal. Diogenes appears to have made biography and succession narratives his primary structural frame into which he incorporates other literary and genre features.²¹⁷

Overall, the “successions” writings appear to have a number of similarities in content and structure, with most fragments containing features that are standard for biographies.²¹⁸ On the other hand, the fragments do not appear to demonstrate that particular philosophical views or systems were a necessary component of this literary form. For example, Mejer states that only four out of about 70 fragments mention philosophical doctrines and out of those four only one or two provide any coherent exposition of a philosophical system.²¹⁹

4.3.2 Περὶ αἱρέσεων

There is less information and fewer extant fragments of works with the title Περὶ αἱρέσεων. Nevertheless, there appears to be some relationship between this type of work and the succession narratives discussed above. However, due to the limited number of fragments, there is insufficient evidence to make firm statements regarding the content and structure of the works in question.²²⁰ With this being said,

²¹⁷ For a proposed order of composition and use of sources, at least in book 7, see Hahm, “Diogenes Laertius VII,” 4172.

Goulet’s article outlines the literary evolution of philosophical biographies and particular motifs in the Late Empire. R. Goulet, “Les Vies de philosophes dans l’Antiquité tardive et leur portée mystérieuse,” in F. Bovon (ed.), *Les Actes Apocryphes des Apôtres: Christianisme et Monde Païen* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1981), 161-208.

²¹⁸ These include: Place of origin (Diogenes 1.107; 2.106; 10.1); Familiar relations (Diogenes 1.106; 2.19, 98; 5.86; Athenaeus 162e; 591f-592a); Dates (Diogenes 1.38; 9.18); Bibliographic information (Diogenes 2.84, 85; 8.7; Athenaeus 506c); Character (Diogenes 6.26, 87; 8.8; Athenaeus 437e-f).

²¹⁹ Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 64-65. Regarding Sotion, see: Sextus Empiricus, *Math.* 7.15; Diogenes 1.7; 9.20. For Alexander Polyhistor, see Diogenes 8.4.

²²⁰ The fragmentary examples include: Eratosthenes, Περὶ τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν αἱρέσεων (*Suda* E 2898; FGH 241 T 1), Hippobotus, Περὶ αἱρέσεων (Diogenes 1.19; 2.88); Panaetius, Περὶ αἱρέσεων (Diogenes 2.87); Clitomachus, Περὶ αἱρέσεων (Diogenes 2.92); Apollodorus, Περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων αἱρέσεων (Diogenes 1.60); Theodorus, Περὶ αἱρέσεων (Diogenes 2.65); Callinicus, Πρὸς τὰς φιλοσόφους αἱρέσεις (*Suda* K 231; FGH 281); Arius Didymus, Περὶ αἱρέσεων (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 1.17-18).

the best preserved examples of *Περὶ αἰρέσεων* literature show a distinct focus on post-Socratic schools of philosophy, as well as a strong ethical focus.²²¹ For example, Hippobotus, cited by Diogenes (1.19), claims that there were nine philosophical sects, whereas Diogenes says in 1.18 that there were ten ethical sects derived from ten founders.²²²

Though there is too little information to reconstruct the configuration of this philosophical sub-genre, it appears, particularly from Arius, that these works provided an account (possibly systematic) of the doctrines of each philosophical school. Though practically all of the fragments lack biographical details of their philosophical members, Theodorus' *Περὶ αἰρέσεων* (Diogenes 2.65) does suggest that there may have been biographical material in them.²²³

So, although it is likely that the majority of such works on sects concentrated on the philosophical beliefs of post-Socratic schools, there is no reason to deny that short biographical statements may have been included. The main topic, however, must have been the philosophical systems, rather than the individual philosophers and details of their lives and writings. As a result of this focus on the system to the neglect of the individuals concerned, it is possible to consider this type of philosophical writing a form distinct from the succession narratives discussed above.

What are Collected Biographies?

In light of the above investigation of different types of collected biographies, it is possible now to synthesise some of our findings. First, and most importantly, a collection of lives can be differentiated from a mere accumulation of facts about people in that “the collection is not constructed by its elements; rather it comes to exist by means of its principle of organization.”²²⁴ A number of different principles

²²¹ Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 77.

²²² Hippobotus' list includes: Megarian, Eretrian, Cyrenaic, Epicurean, Annicerean, Theodorean, Zenonian (or Stoic), Old Academic, and Peripatetic. Diogenes' list, however, includes the: Academics, Cyrenaic, Elian, Megarian, Cynic, Eretrian, Dialectic, Peripatetic, Stoic, and Epicurean. See also Diogenes, 2.47.

²²³ Panaetius' *Περὶ αἰρέσεων* is also cited for including biographical material; however, this is only true if the untitled citations of Panaetius later in Diogenes (2.65, 85; 3.37; 7.163) are part of his *Περὶ αἰρέσεων*. Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 78.

²²⁴ S. Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984), 155.

of organization can be proposed for various collections of lives. For example, Plutarch's principle can be characterised as parallelism—the placing of two lives side-by-side for comparison. In this case, each character is selected from either a Roman or non-Roman (typically a Greek) background. This parallelism is furthered by the idea of similarities or differences in skill, character or achievement between the two subjects and the inclusion of a *synkrisis*.²²⁵

Diogenes Laertius, on the other hand, has an organizational principle that is overtly spatial and linear.²²⁶ Diogenes divides his work (and Greek philosophy as a whole) initially by geographic regions, and identifies two major schools (one Ionian, one Italian, Diogenes, *Lives* 1.13; 8.1), and a third group called “sporadics” (8.91) who do not belong to any one particular school.²²⁷ After this initial division, Diogenes then structures his work so as to show the linear succession within each school. Thus, although the overall structure is one of differentiation, there is a uniting principle that acknowledges sameness, both within the school and in the sub-structure of the individual philosopher's presentation.²²⁸

Philostratus portrays the lives of sophists in terms of the temporal relationship between the First and Second Sophistic movements (*Vit. soph.* 481). This organizational principle derives from his understanding of the sophistic movement of which he was a member. Accordingly, Philostratus applies a criterion for defining and differentiating members and non-members. This criterion acts as a means for determining entry into the collection and provides a way of identifying in and out groups.²²⁹ In looking at the later examples of Eunapius and in the *Historia monachorum* it becomes apparent that a principle of repetition based on a particular form of life (similar to that of Philostratus) had been established. Though inclusion in the work was limited by the person's profession (philosopher or monk, respectively), the selection of subjects to be included was still based on criteria developed by the author.

²²⁵ A good example for similarities between subjects would be Demosthenes and Cicero. Plutarch, *Dem.* 3.3-4; *Comp. Dem. Cic.* 1-5.

²²⁶ Cox Miller, “Strategies of Representation,” 218.

²²⁷ For Diogenes' discussion of naming groups, see 1.17.

²²⁸ Cox Miller, “Strategies of Representation,” 218.

²²⁹ For example, see Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 511, 605, 620.

Second, identifying the author's intent is another important consideration for analysing collected biographies.²³⁰ Though the importance of authorial intent for the interpretation of texts has been challenged in the last century (particularly with the rise of the post-modern perspective, deconstructionist criticism, and reader-response theories), it is difficult (and I suggest impossible) to deny that the original intent of an author has a profound impact on the construction and form of his or her work.²³¹ The goals of the author and the purpose of the work have a direct effect on the selection of genre, content, and organisation.²³²

Stewart is therefore correct when she states, "To ask which principles of organization are used in articulating the collection is to begin to discern what the collection is about."²³³ Furthermore, identifying what the collection is about facilitates the possible discernment of the authorial motivation and intent behind the work. The aims and purposes of the author are integral to the shaping and publication of the material.²³⁴ The formulation and shaping of biographical material into a biographical work takes on an added range of meaning when the impetus for such a piece of literature can be "identified with particular aims."²³⁵ In this way, biographies cease to be mere entertainment or stories (although they do retain that aspect) and take on a particular intellectual function.²³⁶

Finally, the audience for which a collection of lives was created could be composed of people with a predominately sympathetic view or those with an antagonistic one. Authoritative portraits would have been of use to a number of groups, both friendly and hostile, although these groups would undoubtedly have

²³⁰ Cox Miller, "Strategies of Representation," 222. For a standard discussion of the importance of the author see chapter one in, Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation*.

²³¹ Although I understand and agree that authorial intent does not provide absolute limits to interpretation, and that there is a challenge of accurately identifying the author's intent (to say nothing about whether or not he or she actually followed his or her explicit intention statements), it is important to explicitly state that exclusion of authorial intent is inherently problematic when discussing the selection of genre by the author. Later interpreters might not be bound by the original intent, but the initial phases of the writing process (and therefore the selection of genre and all that is associated with it) must engage in dialogue with authorial intent, even if it is later concluded that the author failed in his or her attempt or did not follow his or her prescribed outline.

²³² One of the challenges in attempting to discern authorial intention is that it is doubtful whether one can know more of an author's intent than what is found within the text. As a result, without careful investigation, authorial intent can become a circular argument with genre selection. Schuler, *A Genre for the Gospels*, 32.

²³³ Stewart, *On Longing*, 154.

²³⁴ Swain, "Biography," 2.

²³⁵ Swain, "Biography," 2.

²³⁶ Smith, "Genre, Sub-Genre," 208.

utilised the material differently, or, in response, would have created a rival collection.²³⁷ In short, it is clear that a set of collected biographies can be written for those within or outside the perspective of the author who compiled it,²³⁸ and that the selection and adoption of biographical material represents an exercise of power over the preserved memory of the subject and makes authoritative claims.²³⁹

Conclusion

This investigation into ancient biography provides a number of initial observations for understanding the literary milieu of the Hellenistic era. First, genres in general and biography specifically have a large amount of functional flexibility which allows them to be used in ways that meet the literary needs of the author and audience.²⁴⁰ That biographies were used so diversely (from encomium to moralistic modeling) indicates that their functionality made them ideal candidates for generic ingenuity. Biographical narratives, moreover, vary in relationship to the specific functions they assume in particular historical contexts and in different literary environments. Although at particular times certain types of biographies were preferred, the variety of biographical forms and their chronological overlap indicates that there was room for generic experimentation and authorial preference.

Second, it is important for scholars to resist creating artificial or rigid boundaries between different prose genres. As indicated above, there is a strong relationship between history and biography before, after, and during the Hellenistic period. Momigliano and others identify the origins of biography as developing from history,²⁴¹ and Geiger states that political biography in particular developed in the first century BC out of the history genre.²⁴² Furthermore, scholarly discussions on the third-century writer, Diogenes Laertius, indicate that history was a strong influence on his work. These connections, moreover, suggest that broadly within the

²³⁷ Smith, "Genre, Sub-Genre," 208.

²³⁸ R.A. Burridge, "About People, by People, for People: Gospel Genre and Audiences," in Richard J. Bauckham (ed.), *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 113-46, 132-33.

²³⁹ Smith, "Genre, Sub-Genre," 207-208.

²⁴⁰ Gentili and Cerri, *History and Biography*, 68, 84.

²⁴¹ Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, 41; Gentili and Cerri, *History and Biography*, 62.

²⁴² Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 30

Hellenistic and Roman literary settings history-writings may have exerted influence on biography, although to varying degrees at different times and with different authors.

Third, there are, nonetheless, formal features that differentiate the biography genre from history. The most notable is a consistent focus on the individual and the inclusion of biographical data. The emphasis on the person does not exclude discussion of historical events, but rather frames these events within the boundaries of the individual's life and that person's role within said events.²⁴³ Furthermore, collected biographies, particularly those concerned with political or philosophical succession, subsume these lives within the larger developmental arc of the specific school or tradition in focus. So, though the lives of the individuals create sub-units within larger works, they are often connected and overlap with the interaction of the individuals in the various lives. These ties create cohesion within the work as a whole and assist in the development of the different narratives.

Finally, in evaluating the development of biography as a whole, there appears to be a distinct emphasis on collected biography, as a large majority of extant biographies are not of individual people, but consist of multiple human subjects.²⁴⁴ This emphasis on collected biographies has led Alexander to suggest that the sub-genre of collected lives was the dominant biographical form for intellectual subjects by the first century AD.²⁴⁵

If this is indeed the case, then it is particularly useful for the understanding of (Luke-) Acts. Chapter five evaluates the formal features (internal and external) of Acts and how they relate to ancient genres, particularly collected biographies. This assessment will provide concrete comparisons between Acts and other biographies to determine if there are sufficient formal features to make our claim. This will be further developed in chapters six and seven, which evaluate particular components of the Acts narrative.

²⁴³ As discussed above, the differences between the different types of biographies account for the variation in historical emphasis.

²⁴⁴ For example, Satyrus P.Oxy 1176.

²⁴⁵ Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 61. Similarly Geiger (*Cornelius Nepos*, 79) states "Greek biographical writing was concerned with series of Lives of men: not with the personality in its individual apartness, but in the typical and characteristic for a whole category of men."

CHAPTER FIVE: ACTS AS COLLECTED BIOGRAPHY

This chapter comprises an evaluation of the formal (structural and content) features of Acts and how they relate to ancient genres, in which I argue that Acts has the closest generic relationship with biographies and not history or any other ancient genre. As discussed in chapter three, the genre of a work is indicated both by structure and content with formal features providing cues to the readers to assist them in identifying genre. External or structural features provide the framework, whereas internal, content features affirm and support the external features. Identifying the genre of a work consists of evaluating the constellation of both structural and content features in comparison to other genres.

Accordingly, this chapter follows the program outlined by Burridge in his *What Are the Gospels?* and is divided into four sections, all of which discuss important features for distinguishing the genre of a work.¹ The first section, opening features, looks at the titles of ancient works as well as the opening line(s) of the work. Section two evaluates the subject of work and the subject's allocation of space within the work. Section three assesses external features and how they assist in identifying genre. Such external features are mode of representation, metre, size, structure, scale and scope, sources, literary units, and methods of characterisation. Finally, section four discusses internal features, including setting, topics, style, characterisation, social setting, audience and purpose.

In each of these sections I will identify the genre(s) that Acts most closely associates. In a number of sections a clear genre association, often with biography, is possible. Some categories, however, do not allow for Acts to be identified with only one genre either because they are too broad or because two genres share a formal feature. The latter challenge, discussed in chapter four, is found in the strong interrelatedness between biography and history which have significant generic overlap. This overlap is not found in every category and in these instances I will argue that Acts most closely represents biography. Otherwise, more than one genre association for Acts will be assigned.

¹ For further discussion, see Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 105-23.

Finally, in light of our discussion of genre theory in chapter three, a work does not have to have every feature of a genre in order to be classified as pertaining to a genre; genre categories are flexible. Rather, a work must have a majority of the most important formal features that are genre determinative. In this chapter we will see that, when there is a difference between biography and history, Acts most closely relates to biography.

1. Opening Features

1.1 Title

The title of a work is a strong initial indicator of its genre.² The difficulty, however, is that titles attributed to ancient works were not always chosen by the author, but sometimes added by later readers or librarians.³ The most prominent New Testament example of this would be the Gospels, originally “anonymous” writings to which titles were added at a later date.⁴ Similarly, it appears that Πράξεις Ἀποστόλων was not the original title of Acts, but rather a description of the work appended later.⁵

Titles, even if not original, provide useful information about how works were received and indicate how ancient readers, e.g., in the second century, understood their contents and purposes.⁶ In the sphere of ancient literature, πράξεις has traditionally been interpreted in light of Aristotle’s definition of history.⁷ The passage typically cited (*Rhet.* 1360a35) is literally translated, “the investigations/narratives of those who write about deeds” (αἱ τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις γραφόντων ἱστορίαι) and it is clear that Aristotle is explicitly referencing human

² Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 88-105.

³ Hengel is correct when he asserts that all works, even those originally anonymous, would have been given a title and (likely) a proposed author when they were included in an ancient library. M. Hengel, *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ* (trans. John Bowden; London: SCM Press, 2000), 48.

⁴ For a more thorough discussion, see M. Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark* (trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM Press, 1985), 64-84.

⁵ For other ascribed titles of Acts, see C. von Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece: Editio Octava Critica Maior* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1869), 2:1.

⁶ H.Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 37-38.

⁷ For example, Fitzmyer (*Acts*, 47-49) states, “*Praxeis* was a term designating a specific Greek literary form,” specifically a “historical monograph”. Although he also qualifies this by stating, “A biographical concern is not excluded”. See also Pervo, *Acts*, 29-30; R. Mortley, “The Title of the Acts of the Apostles,” *Lectures anciennes de la Bible* (Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 1; Strasbourg: Centre d’analyse et de documentation patristiques, 1987), 105-12.

actions. Nevertheless, it is problematic to use this citation to equate πράξεις and ιστορίαι as this is not what Aristotle was expressing.

Other ancient examples of πράξεις titles are cited by Diogenes Laertius (2.3), who claims that there was a person named Anaximenes who was writer of deeds (πράξεις γεγραφότος). In 4.5 Diogenes reports that Timonides composed “a narrative (ιστορίας) in which he related the deeds (πράξεις) of Dion and Bion.” Also, in 5.61, Diogenes writes that a historian named Strato narrated the deeds (πράξεις) of the war of Philip and Perseus against the Romans.⁸

Among Latin writers, Quintilian (*Inst.* 2.4.2) also agrees that “history is the narrative of a deed done” (*Historiam, in qua est gestae rei expositio*). *Res Gestae*, the Latin equivalent of πράξεις, refers to the deeds done by a particular person. The most notable example of this is *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, in which Augustus recounts his achievements.⁹

Turning to collected biographies, there are a number of titles by which these works are labelled. As mentioned in chapter four, the primary titles ascribed to collected biographies include Περὶ βίων,¹⁰ Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν/*De Viris Illustribus*,¹¹ and Περὶ αἰρέσεων.¹² In addition to these standard titles, there were also titles that indicated the content of the work (e.g., *Historia monachorum*),

⁸ See also Polybius, *Hist.* 1.1.1.

⁹ See also Sallust, *Cat.* 4.2, “I decided to write an account of the actions (*res gestas*) of the Roman people selectively, as each (topic) seemed worthy of record.”

¹⁰ Examples include Clearchus of Soli, Περὶ βίων Wehrli 3, fr. 38, 41, 50-51, 56; Strato of Lampsacus, Περὶ βίων (Diogenes, 5.59); Aristoxenus, Περὶ βίων (Diogenes, 5.88); Dicaearchus, Περὶ βίων (Diogenes, 3.4); and Timotheus of Athens, Περὶ βίων (FGH 1079; Diogenes, 3.4-5; 4.4; 5.1; 7.1); Heraclides Ponticus, Περὶ βίων, Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles* VII (Diogenes 5.87); Seleucus of Alexandria, Περὶ βίων, FGH 1056 (=341/634) F 1. A slight adaptation of this type would be Diocles of Magnesia’s Περὶ βίων φιλοσόφων, who maintains the Περὶ βίων form but restricts it to philosophers.

¹¹ The most notable examples would be Plutarch’s ἀνδρῶν ἐνδόξων ἀποφθέγματα (Photius, *Bibl.* 161), and *De Viris Illustribus* by Nepos, Suetonius, and Jerome. Other examples of this type include Megacles, Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν FHG 4.443; FGH 1073; Athen. 10.419A; Theseus FHG 4.518-19; FGH 1078 (= 453); *Suda* Θ 363 (Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, 7.67; 7.70); Amphicrates, Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν FHG 4.300 (F1 = Athen. 12.576C); Jason of Nysa, *Suda* I 52, *Lives of Famous Men; Successions of Philosophers*; and *Life of Greece* in 4 books; Nicagoras of Athens, *Lives of Famous Men* (Βίοι Ἐλλογίμων) FGH 1076; *Suda* N 373; Tranquillus, Στέμμα Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων, *Suda* T 895; Sextus Aurelius Victor (ca. 320-ca. 390) *De Viris Illustribus Romae*.

¹² The fragmentary examples include Eratosthenes, Περὶ τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν αἰρέσεων (*Suda* E 2898; FGH 241 T 1), Hippobotus, Περὶ αἰρέσεων (Diogenes 1.19; 2.88); Panaetius, Περὶ αἰρέσεων (Diogenes 2.87); Clitomachus, Περὶ αἰρέσεων (Diogenes 2.92); Apollodorus, Περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων αἰρέσεων (Diogenes 1.60); Theodorus, Περὶ αἰρέσεων (Diogenes 2.65); Callinicus, Πρὸς τὰς φιλοσόφους αἰρέσεις (*Suda* K 231; FGH 281); Arius Didymus, Περὶ αἰρέσεων (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 1.17-18).

particularly when the work focused on a philosophical school¹³ or political figures (e.g., Caesars).¹⁴

Although none of these works uses the term πράξεις as part of its title, this does not mean that the term πράξεις was not important for these writers. For example, Eunapius (*Vit. phil.* 453), in his opening sentence, claims that Xenophon excelled at deeds (τὰ δὲ ἐν πράξεσιν τε ἦν ἄριστος). More pertinent for this study is how Eunapius (*Vit. phil.* 454) claims that Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* are lives describing the subjects' works and deeds (βίοι τῶν ἀρίστων κατὰ ἔργα καὶ πράξεις ἀνδρῶν).¹⁵ There is, however, one interesting example of πράξεις in a title. This is attributed to Zeno by Diogenes Laertius (7.175), who claims that one of Zeno's works was titled περὶ πράξεων. Unfortunately this work is no longer extant and so does not assist in associating content with titles.

In the centuries following the publication of Acts, the "Apocryphal Acts" formed a literary tradition that, based on their similarities to Acts and how they trace the individual lives of the apostles, were also given the title πράξεις. It is important to reiterate that a majority of titles are secondary additions and were assigned to these works by later readers. Though this is unfortunate in that we do not know how the original author framed and viewed his work, it does give us insight into what genre early interpreters and readers understood the work to be. Early genre attributions for the Apocryphal Acts may help inform our understanding of the genre of Acts itself, following Elliott, among others, who has persuasively argued that the Apocryphal Acts are in some ways modeled after the canonical Acts and have a number of similarities.¹⁶

¹³ Philodemus, Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων; P.Herc. 1018 (*Index Stoicorum*); and 1021 and 164 (*Index Academicorum*); Hermippus' *On Aristotle* (F 33), *On Isocrates* (F 42-44), and *On the Pupils of Isocrates*; Aristoxenus, Περὶ τοῦ Πυθαγορικοῦ βίου, and Περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ.

¹⁴ Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*; *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*; Aurelius Victor's *Caesars*; and *Epitome de Caesaribus*.

¹⁵ Cf. Eunapius, *Vit. phil.* 479, 486

¹⁶ J.K. Elliott, "The Apocryphal Acts," *CV* 35 (1993): 5-23; J.K. Elliott, "The Apocryphal Gospels," *ExpT* 103 (1991): 8-15. Although the need for caution when making parallels has been raised by R. Gounelle, "Actes apocryphes des apôtres et Actes des apôtres canoniques: état de la recherche et perspectives nouvelles (I)," *RHPR* 84 (2004): 3-30, esp. 8; R. Gounelle, "Actes apocryphes des apôtres et Actes des apôtres canoniques: état de la recherche et perspectives nouvelles (II)," *RHPR* 84 (2004): 419-41.

In evaluating *Acts of John* P.J. Lalleman suggests that the final version of the text is a “novelistic biography”.¹⁷ J.-M. Prieur proposes that *Acts of Andrew* is a literary narrative biography,¹⁸ whereas Pao claims it is a philosophical biography.¹⁹ Evaluating the breadth of Apocryphal Acts, T. Adamik claims, “The only literary genre in which we can place the *Acts* is biography.”²⁰ More specifically, E. Junod posits parallels between the Apocryphal Acts and philosophical lives, particularly Plotinus and Iamblichus and the creation of the *theios aner*.²¹ Although a number of scholars classify the “Apocryphal Acts” as novels, there is a strong contingent that recognises dominant biographical characteristics. This scholarly perspective provides some peripheral support to labelling Acts as a biography in that, if the Apocryphal Acts are biographical, it appears that early interpreters and emulators viewed Acts as related to biography.

Both ancient biographies and histories make explicit references to recounting important deeds (πράξεις). Although not often found in ancient titles, a discussion of πράξεις was a regular component of both historical and biographical works. That Acts was given the title Πράξεις Ἀποστόλων indicates that ancient readers took Acts as falling within the biography-historiography spectrum.²² Moreover, the use of a plural subject “apostles” lends support to a collected biography, as opposed to an individual biography, genre designation.

1.2 Opening Words and Preface

In light of the fact that titles were sometimes omitted or missing, the opening of a work assisted the reader’s genre assessment.²³ So consistent was this that Earl

¹⁷ P.J. Lalleman, *The Acts of John: A Two-Stage Initiation into Johannine Gnosticism* (SAAA 4; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 46.

¹⁸ “Le genre littéraire du récit biographique.” J.-M. Prieur, *Acta Andreae: Praefatio – Commentarius* (CCSA 5; Brepols: Turnhout, 1989), 382.

¹⁹ D.W. Pao, “The Genre of the Acts of Andrew,” *Apocrypha* 6 (1995): 179-202.

²⁰ T. Adamik, “The Influence of the Apocryphal Acts on Jerome’s Lives of the Saints,” in J.N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of John* (SAAA 1; Kampen: Pharos, 1995), 171-82, 174. Adamik further claims that the Apocryphal Acts influenced a number of the *Lives of the Saints*.

²¹ E. Junod, “Les Vies de philosophes et les Actes apocryphes: un dessein similaire?,” in F. Bovon (ed.), *Les Actes Apocryphes des Apôtres: Christianisme et Monde Païen* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1981), 209-19.

²² R.A. Burridge, “The Genre of Acts—Revisited,” in S. Walton, T.E. Phillips, L.K. Pietersen, and F.S. Spencer (eds.), *Reading Acts Today: Essays in Honour of Loveday C. A. Alexander* (LNTS 427; London: T&T Clark, forthcoming 2011). *Contra* Mortley, (“The Title of the Acts of the Apostles,” 105-12) who claims that the title of Acts does not coincide with the book’s contents.

²³ Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.14.6 discusses the opening lines of tragedies and epics. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 88-105. Some authors, interesting largely Latin (e.g., Nepos and Suetonius), do not open

claims, “History, epideictic oratory, philosophical dialogue, political treatise or whatever, your first sentence had to announce what you were writing.”²⁴ For example, Longus (*Daphn. praef.* 1) commences his novel, “On Lesbos, while hunting, in a grove of the Nymphs, I saw the most beautiful sight I have ever seen, a depiction of an image, a history of love (ἱστορίαν ἔρωτος).” Aristotle’s *Rhet.* 1.1 opens, “Rhetoric is the counterpart to dialectic” (ἡ ῥητορική ἐστὶν ἀντίστροφος τῇ διαλεκτικῇ), and Theon his *Progymnasmata*, “The ancient rhetoricians, and especially those who have become famous, did not think that someone should come to rhetoric before grasping philosophy in some manner” (Οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ τῶν ῥητόρων, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ εὐδοκιμηκότες, οὐκ ᾔφροντο δεῖν ἐφικέσθαι τρόπον τινὰ τῆς ῥητορικῆς, πρὶν ἀμωσγέπως ᾗσασθαι φιλοσοφίας, Theon, *Prog.* 59; Patillon 1).²⁵ In these examples the opening provides insight into the nature and content of the text by making explicit reference to the subject of the work.

Turning to historical works there appears to be a common refrain of speaking about a nation or ethnic group and a possible war in which they have been involved. For example, Herodotus’ opening highlights the deeds done by Greeks and foreigners:

What Herodotus from Halicarnassus has learnt by inquiry is set forth here, in order that the memory of the past may not be blotted out from among men by time, and that the great and marvellous deeds done by Greeks and foreigners and, especially, the reason why they warred against each other may not lack renown (1.1).²⁶

Similarly, Thucydides also discusses the Greeks, but specifically investigates the causes and events of the Peloponnesian War, as his opening indicates: “Thucydides,

their work with a preface, but rather immediately dive straight into their material. Similarly, not all of Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives* have formal prefaces, which suggests that a formal preface was not a requisite for collected biographies.

²⁴ D. Earl, “Prologue-Form in Ancient Historiography,” *ANRW* 1.2 (1972): 842-56, 856.

²⁵ While I use the standard Spengel numbering for Theon’s *Progymnasmata*, the critical text utilized M. Patillon, *Aelius Théon: Progymnasmata*.

²⁶ Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέος ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμάστιά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι’ ἣν αἰτὶν ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

an Athenian, wrote the history of the war waged by the Peloponnesians and the Athenians against one another” (1.1).²⁷

Polybius’ *History* also writes about an ethnic group, although here the focus is on the Romans. His opening also praises the didactic benefits of historical works:

Had previous chroniclers neglected to speak in praise of History in general, it might perhaps have been necessary for me to recommend everyone to choose for study and welcome such treatises as the present, since men have no more ready corrective of conduct than knowledge of the past (1.1.1, Paton).²⁸

Polybius continues this opening by outlining his plan to discuss the Roman military accomplishments and political system (1.1.5).

Livy in his *History* has a similar focus on the Roman people, although he commences his work by discussing the means by which he will recount the achievement of the Roman people and the founding of their capital: “Whether I am likely to accomplish anything worthy of the labour, if I record the achievements of the Roman people from the foundation of the city...” (*praef.* 1).²⁹ Livy follows this with a brief discussion of historical writing practice, disdaining how other historians boast about their work in their openings (*praef.* 2), and praising the virtue and profit of reading history (*praef.* 10-12).

It is clear from these openings that historical works open with specific themes. First, there is a high regard for the historical tradition in which the writer attempts to situate himself. Second, and most important for this study, there is a clear emphasis on an ethnic group or war. Although a number of these openings mention deeds and events, they are always under the purview of a nation, not an individual. As we will now see, this is quite different than biographical openings and the beginning of Acts.

Individual biographies, in contrast to histories, begin with a reference and focus on an individual. For example, Isocrates’ *Evagoras* begins his encomium of

²⁷ Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηνίων ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

²⁸ Εἰ μὲν τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀναγράφουσι τὰς πράξεις παραλελειῖθαι συνέβαινε τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς ἱστορίας ἔπαινον, ἴσως ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸ προτρέπεσθαι πάντας πρὸς τὴν αἴρεσιν καὶ παραδοχὴν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπομνημάτων.

²⁹ *Facturusne operae pretium sim, si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim...* See also Sallust’s claim, although it is not at the beginning of his work: “I decided to write an account of the actions of the Roman people selectively, as each (topic) seemed worthy of record,” *statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna uidebantur, perscribere*, *Cat.* 4.2.

Evagoras by offering praise to his son Nicocles, who was rightly honouring his father with funeral games: “When I saw you, Nicocles, honouring the tomb of your father...I judged that Evagoras...” (1).³⁰ Similarly, Xenophon starts his *Apology* by providing a synopsis of his work on Socrates: “It seems fitting to me to hand down to memory, furthermore, how Socrates, on being indicted, deliberated on his defence and on the end of his life” (1).³¹ Likewise, Xenophon’s *Agésilas* references his main protagonist: “I know how difficult it is to write an appreciation of Agésilas that shall be worthy of his virtue and glory” (1.1).³²

Similarly, collected biographies begin with a focus on specific sets of individuals. Philostratus’ *Vit. soph.* begins, “I have written for you in two books an account of certain men who, though they pursued philosophy, ranked as sophists, and also of the sophists properly so called.”³³ Eunapius *Vit. phil.* commences, “... the aim of my narrative is not to write of the casual doings of distinguished men, but their main achievements,”³⁴ while Jerome’s *De Viris Illustribus* opens, “You have urged me, Dexter, to follow the example of Tranquillus in giving a systematic account of ecclesiastical writers, and to do for our writers what he did for the illustrious men of letters among the Gentiles.”³⁵

Acts opens in a manner more similar to biographies than to history. Following Luke’s reference to a previous work, the opening of Acts continues by stating that this work discussed what “Jesus began to do and teach” (ὃν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, 1:1). This use of ἤρξατο indicates possible continuation and suggests that Acts will continue to focus on Jesus’ actions. This focus, however, quickly shifts to Jesus’ disciples, who, we soon learn, will be the ones who will continue Jesus’ ministry (Acts 1:8). This will be further discussed in chapter seven. For now, note that Acts, like biographies, begins by referencing an individual rather than a national or ethnic group or a war.

³⁰ Ὅρων, ὃ Νικόκλεις, τομῶντά σε τὸν τάφον τοῦ πατρὸς...ἡγησάμην Εὐαγόραν...

³¹ Σωκράτους δὲ ἄξιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι μεμνησθαι καὶ ὡς ἐπειδὴ ἐκλήθη εἰς τὴν δίκην ἐβουλεύσατο περὶ τε τῆς ἀπολογίας καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ βίου.

³² Οἶδα μὲν, ὅτι τῆς Ἀγησιλάου ἀρετῆς τε καὶ δόξης οὐ ῥάδιον ἄξιον ἔπαινον γράψαι.

³³ Philostratus’ *Vit. soph.* 479, Τοὺς φιλοσοφῆσαντας ἐν δόξῃ τοῦ σοφιστεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς οὕτω κυρίως προσρηθέντας σοφιστὰς ἐς δύο βιβλία ἀνέγραψά σοι.

³⁴ Eunapius, *Vit. phil.* 453, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ εἰς τὰ πάρεργα τῶν σπουδαίων ὁ λόγος φέρει τὴν γραφὴν, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὰ ἔργα.

³⁵ Jerome, *Vir. ill. praef.*, Hortaris me, Dexter, ut Tranquillum sequens, ecclesiasticos Scriptores in ordinem digeram et quod ille in enumerandis Gentilium litterarum Viris fecit Illustribus.

The first component of Acts' opening also fits with the genre of biography. Acts' prologue references another, previous work (τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον, 1:1). Although there is scholarly debate regarding the unified authorship of Luke and Acts, it is clear from this statement that, narratively, the author of Acts is explicitly referencing a previous work and asking his readers to understand Acts as a continuation of that work.

The ancients sometimes used connective openings as books of a work were occasionally published separately. However, the frequency of this connective opening and the subject reference differ by genre. For example, each book of Herodian's *History of the Empire* begins with a reference to the previous work. Although each book references specific individuals, they are placed in the wider context of the history, indicating to the reader that it is not a biography proper, "In the first book of my history I showed who the conspirators destroyed Commodus" (2.1).³⁶ Herodian, however, is an exception as most histories do not have a connective opening. For example, a majority of Livy's extant books do not have a connective opening, although there is another preface at 21.1, which reintroduces his topic: the war between the Carthaginians and the Romans.³⁷ Each book in the histories by Herodotus, Thucydides, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Appian, Quintus Curtius, and Xenophon continues the narrative from the preceding book without any authorial insertion.³⁸

The use of connective openings is much more frequent in biographies in which the author also references the individual in focus. For example, Philo's *De Vita Mosis* 2.1 explicitly connects book 2 with the previous work: "The former treatise (προτέρα σύνταξις) was about the birth and nature of Moses." Similarly, Plutarch's *Aem* 1.1 explicitly references previous *Parallel Lives* and links the *Lives of Aemilius and Timoleon* to the larger set: "It came to me to begin writing the *Lives* for the sake

³⁶ Herodian, *Hist.* 2.1, Ἀνελόντες δὲ τὸν Κόμοδον οἱ ἐπιβουλευσάντες, ὡς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ συντάγματι τῆς ἱστορίας δεδήλωται.

³⁷ Livy, *Hist.* 21.1, *In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari quod in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae unquam gesta sint me scripturum, quod Hanibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere.*

³⁸ Written in the third person singular, Thucydides *Hist.* 2.1 might be an authorial aside. This opening, however, clearly references work in the first book and emphasises the subject of the *History* as the war between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians.

of others, but now to continue it and enjoy my stay for my sake.”³⁹ Diogenes 8.1 seeks to join the account of Italian philosophers with those from Ionia: “As we have completed the account of the philosophy of Ionia, beginning with Thales, and its chief representatives, let us examine the philosophy of Italy.”⁴⁰ Of particular interest is Diogenes’ opening of book 4, which connects the lives of Plato’s disciples with the previous work on Plato (book 3): “The foregoing is the best account of Plato that we were able to compile after a diligent examination of the authorities. He was succeeded by Speusippus...” (4.1, Hicks, Loeb).⁴¹ Diogenes dedicated book three entirely to discussion of Plato’s life, career, and teaching and is now stating that book 4 will trace Plato’s disciples. Furthermore, the first two disciples discussed in book 4 have already been introduced by heading a disciple list in 3.46, bringing further continuity to this transition, and providing another parallel to Luke and Acts.

That Acts commences with a connective opening forms a strong connection with the biography genre as histories did not make wide use of this literary feature. Acts’ clear reference to an individual, Jesus, further emphasises this connection with biography and distances it from history. The prompt shift from Jesus to the disciples, moreover, is paralleled in the collected biographies and suggests further genre specification.

2. Subject

Just as genre cannot be defined solely on its form, it is also not prudent simply to equate it with content or subject matter. Histories, like biographies, can also be centered on an individual; what distinguishes these genres is the treatment of the individual in relation to the subject. In the former, the discussion of individuals is secondary to the overarching subject (typically a war or ethnic conflict); whereas, in the latter, the individual is the subject. Furthermore, in the former, the events of the

³⁹ Ἐμοὶ [μὲν] τῆς τῶν βίων ἄψασθαι μὲν γραφῆς συνέβη δι’ ἑτέρους, ἐπομένειν δὲ καὶ φιλοχωρεῖν ἤδη καὶ δι’ ἑμαυτὸν. Similarly, in *Demetr.* 1.7, Plutarch states, “This book will contain the life of Demetrius the Besieger and that of Antony the Emperor...” (Περιέξει δὴ τοῦτο βιβλίον τὸν Δημητρίου τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ βίον καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνίου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος).

⁴⁰ Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Θαλοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ διαγενομένους ἄνδρας ἀξιολόγους διεληλύθαμεν, φέρε καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς διαλάβωμεν, ἧς ἤρξε Πυθαγόρας.

⁴¹ τὰ μὲν περὶ Πλάτωνος τοσαῦτα ἦν ἐς τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν συναγαγεῖν, φιλοπόνως διειλήσασσι τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τάνδρός, διεδέξατο δ’ αὐτὸν Σπεύσιππος...

history dictate the selection of which individuals to discuss; whereas, in the latter, the life of the individual determines which events will be discussed: “The character of an ancient literary work is to a great extent determined by its subject matter, which forms an important, even central part in its definition.”⁴²

As discussed in chapter three, the ancients limited certain subjects to certain genres.⁴³ For example, according to Aristotle prose is for themes and subjects that are less grand, or for the roles of slaves or people of lowly character.⁴⁴ More explicitly, Dionysius *Comp.* 1 states,

In virtually all kinds of discourse two things require study: the ideas (νοήματα) and the words (ὀνόματα). We may regard the first of these as concerned chiefly with subject matter (πραγματικοῦ τύπου), and the latter with expression...The knowledge which guides us towards the selection and judicious management of our material (πράγματα) is attained slowly and with difficulty by the young (Loeb, Usher).

In his work on the genre of the gospels, Burridge proposes two ways of determining the subject of a work: analysis of the verbs’ subjects and allocation of space.⁴⁵ Analysis of verbs’ subjects is a good way of determining the key agents in a work. Accomplished through a thorough counting of the subject of each verb, nominative case proper names, and imbedded verb subjects, this approach is very useful for continuous narratives. Burridge has made good use of this approach to establish the emphasis the gospels place on Jesus and other key figures.⁴⁶

For collected biographies which delineate and segment their work based on individual characters, a different approach may prove more beneficial. Though these biographies form a unified whole, their segmentation suggests that the optimal way of understanding the author’s focus would be to determine how much of the book/work one individual life occupies.⁴⁷ In these life-modules there is a clear focus on one individual and though there are other characters in the life these characters are

⁴² Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 18.

⁴³ Horace, *Ars* 75-97; Dionysius, *Comp.* 3.

⁴⁴ Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.2, 1404b.

⁴⁵ Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 109-13.

⁴⁶ Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 189-93. Here Burridge demonstrates that Jesus is the subject of a substantially high proportion of the verbs.

⁴⁷ This is not to suggest that verb-subject analysis is not useful for collected biographies. Rather, for a majority of collected biographies there is only one person in focus in each biography module, which minimises the need for this approach.

included because of their interaction with and relationship to the main character. Additionally, although the main character may be “off-stage” at some points, he is still the focus of the narrative. As a result, the optimal way of determining the main subject(s) of collected biographies is to look at the amount of narrative given to each character’s section.⁴⁸

In Suetonius’ *Lives of the Caesars* there is a broad range of space given to each subject. The Caesar who occupies the largest percentage of the biography is Augustus (19.7%), followed by Julius Caesar (13.8%), and Tiberius (13.2%). Conversely, the smallest subjects are Vitellius (3.4%), Otho (2.4%), and Titus (2.1%).⁴⁹ Also, despite its fragmentary nature, there appears to be a wide range of lengths for his *De Viris Illustribus*.⁵⁰

A more compact range is exhibited in Nepos’ *Lives*, likely due to the greater number of subjects. The high range of Nepos’ subjects consists of Eumenes (9.4%), Alcibiades (8.3%), and Themistocles (7.1%), whereas the low range is On Kings (1.8%), Iphiscrates (1.7%), and Aristides (1.4%). Jerome’s subject percentage in *De Viris Illustribus* is even more compact with the high examples being Origen (4.3%), Paul (4.2%), and James (3.9%). Of his 135 subjects, however, 103 of them receive less than one percent of the work, less than one quarter the space of Origen and Paul.

Philostratus’ *Vitae Sophistarum* and Eunapius’ *Vitae Philosophorum* both have greater subject-space variation. In Philostratus’ Book 1 there are two figures who receive substantial narrative (Scopelian, 14.3%, and Polemo, 23.0%) although only one in Book 2 (Herodes, 25.5%). For the remainder of the characters in Book 1 three have 5-7%, thirteen are between 1-5%, and the remaining seven less than 1%. Similarly in Book 2, three are between 5-8%, twenty-two are between 1-5%, and the remaining seven less than 1%.⁵¹ Here the proportion of representation is quite wide with the lead characters receiving of four to eight times the average representation.

In Eunapius’ work we again see a clear focus on specific characters. For example, Prohaeresius (16.9%), Maximus (15.7%), and Chrysanthius (11.3%) all have more than 10% of the text. Conversely, twelve out of Eunapius’ twenty-eight characters

⁴⁸ So, Cox Miller “Strategies of Representation,” 244.

⁴⁹ See Appendix 3 for a complete chart. Percentages are derived from word counts of individual lives in the collection.

⁵⁰ A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius* (London: Duckworth, 1995), 68-69.

⁵¹ For a full distribution see Appendix 3.

have less than 1%, or between one-eleventh and one-sixteenth the proportion of representation as the head protagonists. Although Eunapius' text is divided into subjects, the *Vitae Philosophorum* is less rigidly structured than that of Philostratus. For example, Eunapius discusses Aedesius the Cappadocian in 461, but later returns to him in 464-465. Similarly, there is a brief recounting of Iamblichus' death at 461-462 (after discussing two other philosophers) even though his life had been the focus of 457-460. Another example would be the discussion of Clearchus (479) in Eunapius' discussion of Maximus (473-481). These examples do not discount the author's division of the text, but rather indicate that rigid divisions are not always followed.⁵²

Diogenes Laertius divides his *Lives* into ten books, each focusing on a different school. In each book there is a unique distribution of attention given to each individual, although there are some similarities between the books. First, there are two books (3 and 10) that are dedicated solely to one individual. Second, there are a group of books in which one philosopher dominates. For example, in books 6, 7, and 8 there is one philosopher that takes up more than fifty percent of the word count: Book 6 – Diogenes: 5,526 (59.9%); Book 7 – Zeno: 15,121 (79.2%); Book 8 – Pythagoras: 4,509 (56.5%).⁵³ Third, the remainder of the books have one to three people who have a larger proportion of the text: Book 1 – Thales: 2,041 (18.2%); Solon: 2,072 (18.5%); Book 2 – Socrates: 2,650 (20.4%); Aristippus: 3,627 (28%); Book 4 – Xenocrates: 980 (16.2%); Arcesilaus: 1,633 (27%); Bion: 1,066 (17.6%); Book 5 – Aristotle: 3,200 (36.8%); Theophrastus: 2,241 (25.7%); Book 9 – Heraclitus: 1,538 (14.3%); Democrates: 1,524 (14.2%); Pyrrho: 4,431 (41.2%).

In addition to having characters that dominate a book, Diogenes also has philosophers who occupy a small fraction of the text. For example, in book 2 there are nine characters who each receive less than two percent of the book, and four in book 7.⁵⁴ Although not to the same extent, such examples occur in almost every book (excluding books 3 and 10). In light of this, it is apparent that Diogenes

⁵² Another example would be the disciple lists in Diogenes, especially 7.36-38.

⁵³ For complete book distributions, see the charts in Appendix 3.

⁵⁴ Word counts: Book 2: Anaximander: 171 (1.3%); Anaximenes: 246 (1.9%); Archelaus: 211 (1.6%); Phaedo: 116 (0.9%); Crito: 105 (0.8%); Simon: 160 (1.2%); Glaucon: 30 (0.2%); Simmias: 68 (0.5%); Cebes: 14 (0.1%). Book 7: Ariston: 369 (1.9%); Herillus: 146 (0.8%); Dionysius: 135 (0.7%); Sphaerus: 191 (1.0%).

displays a huge range of space allocation for subjects when forming each of his books.

Having evaluated the allocation of space in a number of collected biographies, there appears to be a propensity for the subject with a majority of the text to be placed at the beginning of the collection or near the end. This is not always the case (both Jerome and Eunapius have one major character in the middle), but rather seems to be a loose pattern. If this is the case, then this is another parallel with Acts' emphasis on Peter and Paul at the beginning and end of the work, respectively.

Turning to Acts, the most recent evaluation of subject in Acts comes from BurrIDGE's forthcoming article "The Genre of Acts—Revisited". In this article BurrIDGE applies his previously discussed method of verb-subject analysis to Acts. BurrIDGE's findings indicate that Paul has the greatest space (11.4% verbs + 11.2% speech), followed by the disciples as a group (18%),⁵⁵ Peter (3.7%, plus 6.8% speeches), Stephen (0.5% plus 4.6% speech) and James (0.1%, plus 0.5% for his speech, Acts 15:13-21, and a further 0.5% for the Apostolic Decree, Acts 15:23-29).⁵⁶ Some of BurrIDGE's findings are not surprising, namely the emphasis on Paul and the disciples in the narrative. On the other hand, S. Walton's claim that "God is the key actor" is strongly challenged as God only receives 3% of the verb subjects.⁵⁷

Although I value BurrIDGE's attention to the role that verb subjects have on identifying a work's subject, another way of determining the subject is to evaluate the allocation of space attributed to each character. In the collected biographies above it is apparent that in each section the authors are specifically focusing on a specific individual. Although other characters speak and act in these sections their continual interaction with the lead figure and their (often) contrasting representations continually bring the focus back to the lead figure. As a result, though the character in focus may not be the verbal subject or be talking throughout the entire section, I contend that they are still primary in narrative focus.

⁵⁵ It would have been interesting and likely insightful if BurrIDGE had broken down what elements made up this group and what percentages were attributed to them.

⁵⁶ BurrIDGE, "The Genre of Acts." BurrIDGE's article also includes a table and pie chart that further delineate subject focus.

⁵⁷ S. Walton, "The Acts – of God? What is the 'Acts of the Apostles' all about?," *EvQ* 80 (2008): 291-306. The 3% includes all references to God (0.7%), Jesus (1.2%), "the Lord" (0.6%), and the Spirit (0.5%).

As a result, I propose that the optimal method of determining the subject of Acts is through an investigation of narrative space allocation. Accordingly, I will divide the text into narrative sections based on the disciples and members of the Christian community and determine by word count how much space is dedicated to each subject. This will provide a proportionate representation of the text as a whole, the findings of which will be compared to other genres for compatibility and similarities.⁵⁸

There are, however, some challenges to this approach. First, the author of Acts did not formally segment his text as is the case with the collected biographies above. Nevertheless, Acts does appear to have a narrative pattern of focusing on characters in series, discussing one character before moving on to the next. As a result, it is possible to divide the text by characters.

This leads us to the second issue: Not all divisions are discrete. There are occasions in Acts where multiple main characters interact (e.g., Acts 15). In these sections it is difficult to allocate the narrative space to only one character. For example, in the early chapters of Acts Peter and John function as a pair. However, in this example, it is clear from the narrative that Peter is the dominant character. Similarly, in the travel sections of Paul's missions, Paul plays the leading role while his companions rarely contribute to the narrative.⁵⁹

In light of this I have divided the text of Acts by its characters. The following chart outlines my divisions and how many words each section contains. Here we see that Paul is indeed the dominant character of Acts receiving 56.4% of the narrative.⁶⁰ The next major character is Peter who appears in 23.4% of the narrative, followed by Barnabas (10.3%), Stephen (7.2%), John (6.0%), Disciples (general) (5.4%), Philip (2.3%), and Apostles (2.0%).⁶¹

⁵⁸ Burridge ("The Genre of Acts") is right to highlight that Luke divides the text both geographically and biographically. However, though Acts opens with a paradigmatic statement that has a strong geographic component (Acts 1:8), it is important to note the emphasis on the disciples being witnesses. As a result, though the geographic element is not to be ignored, the biographic element of Acts is primary.

⁵⁹ Luke appears to prioritise Paul in the text as Acts 17:13 states "when the Jews heard that Paul was preaching..." even though it was Paul and his companions.

⁶⁰ This is an addition of the four categories in which Paul is a major character: Saul/Paul alone (32.1%), Paul and Barnabas (9.3%), Paul and Silas/"we" (14.2%), and Paul and James (0.8%).

⁶¹ As is apparent from the chart, there is overlap between these percentages. Most notable are John, whose entire percentage is also attributed to Peter, and Barnabas, of which 9.3% is shared with Saul/Paul.

*Narrative Subjects Divisions in Acts*⁶²

| Character | Verses | Words | Percentage | |
|----------------------|------------------|-------|---------------|-------|
| Jesus | 1:1-9 | 166 | 0.9% | |
| Disciples (general) | 1:10-14 | 118 | | |
| | 1:23-2:13 | 255 | | |
| | 6:1-7 | 138 | | |
| | 15:5-34 | 480 | Total = 992 | 5.4% |
| Believers | 2:41-47 | 117 | | |
| | 4:24-35 | 251 | Total = 368 | 2.0% |
| Apostles and Peter | 5:12-42 | 566 | 3.1% | |
| Peter with disciples | 1:15-22 | 160 | | |
| | 2:14-40 | 525 | | |
| | 5:1-11 | 206 | Total = 891 | 4.8% |
| Peter with John | 3:1-4:23 | 908 | | |
| | 8:14-25 | 199 | Total = 1,107 | 6.0% |
| Peter alone | 9:32-11:18 | 1,373 | | |
| | 12:3-19 | 372 | Total = 1,745 | 9.5% |
| | [15:7-11 = 98] | | | |
| Barnabas | 4:36-37 | 31 | | |
| | 11:19-26 | 153 | Total = 184 | 1.0% |
| Stephen | 6:8-8:3 | 1,326 | 7.2% | |
| Philip | 8:4-13, 26-40 | 433 | 2.3% | |
| Ananias | 9:10-17 | 169 | 0.9% | |
| Saul/Paul alone | 9:1-9 | 144 | | |
| | 9:18-31 | 251 | | |
| | 17:16-18:23 | 779 | | |
| | 19:1-20:3 | 809 | | |
| | 20:18-38 | 373 | | |
| | 21:26-26:32 | 3,154 | | |
| | 28:17-31 | 306 | Total = 5,917 | 32.1% |
| | 11:27-30? | 64 | | |
| | 12:24-15:4 | 1,533 | | |
| | [15:12 = 23] | | | |
| Paul and Silas/"we" | 15:35-41 | 112 | Total = 1,709 | 9.3% |
| | 16:1-17:15 | 1,023 | | |
| | 20:4-17 | 251 | | |
| | 21:1-17 | 309 | | |
| Paul and James | 27:1-28:16 | 1,046 | Total = 2,629 | 14.2% |
| | 21:18-25 | 153 | 0.8% | |
| | James (disciple) | 24 | 0.1% | |
| [James (brother)] | 15:13-21 | 130 | 0.7%] | |

⁶² For thoroughness I have included the individual character divisions of Acts 15:5-34 and placed them in square brackets "[]". These, however, do not contribute to the overall word count or percentage of an individual character as this section has been attributed to "Disciples (general)" as multiple characters are in focus. These calculations are based on the text of NA²⁷.

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|----------|-----|------|
| Herod | 12:20-23 | 74 | 0.4% |
| Apollos, Priscilla and Aquila | 18:24-28 | 103 | 0.6% |

Conversely, the named characters who have the least narrative associated with them are James (brother) (1.5%),⁶³ Jesus (0.9%), Apollos, Priscilla and Aquila (0.6%), Herod (0.4%), and James (disciple) (0.1%). The clear oddity in this list is the inclusion of Herod as he is clearly not part of the Christian movement. Though there are numerous non-Christian characters who have narrative in Acts, this is the only clear example of an “outsider” character having his own, discrete narrative apart from any Christian character.⁶⁴

These figures based on allocation of narrative space do not undermine the veracity of Burrige’s verb-subject analysis. Rather, they are complementary and portray some similarities. First, Paul and Peter are the key individuals in both analyses. Second, both studies indicate that the primary focus of Acts is the deeds and words of the first Christians as opposed to characters outside the Christian movement.⁶⁵ Third, and most importantly for this study, there is a clear indication that Acts does not have only one protagonist throughout the narrative. Conversely, Acts presents numerous subjects, but is primarily focused on those adhering to the Christian faith. Furthermore, the proportion of representation exhibited in Acts is well within the spectrum of collected biographies.

Much space has been dedicated to this section as the determination of subject is one of the most influential features for identifying genre. That Acts focuses almost exclusively on in-group members and divides the text according to these members bears strong generic resemblances to collected biographies.

3. *External Features*

The above two categories, opening features and subject, provide strong support for viewing Acts as part of biographic literature. In this section we evaluate external

⁶³ This 1.5% is a combination of Paul and James (21:18-25) and James’ speech in Acts 15:13-21.

⁶⁴ Also noted in O.W. Allen, *The Death of Herod: The Narrative and Theological Function of Retribution in Luke-Acts* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 75.

⁶⁵ In totalling his percentages, Burrige (“The Genre of Acts”) finds that “*just over 57% of the verbs of Acts are devoted to the deeds and words of the first Christians*” (italics his).

features, which work in tandem either to affirm or to challenge our labelling of Acts as biography.⁶⁶ Petersen claims, “External structure and formal characteristics are genre traits which signal types of meaning which are to be construed by audience and interpreter alike from context shaped in this way.”⁶⁷ Similarly, Fowler claims that “external forms will be among the indicators” of genre.⁶⁸ In this section we will look at the primary external features that assist genre delineation (mode of representation, metre, size, structure, scale and scope, sources, literary units, and methods of characterisation), compare each feature of Acts to other ancient works to determine the best generic fit, and ultimately demonstrate that the components of Acts best match those found in biographic works.

3.1 *Mode of Representation*

The manner by which an author presents his work significantly assists in delineating the genre of a work. This can be divided into three subsections: 1) intended presentation method (oral or written), 2) text construction (e.g., continuous narrative, disconnected units, dialogue, etc.), and 3) authorial voice (third or first person narration).

Most written texts had an eye towards oral presentation as many works were read in public settings. This, however, is distinguishable from texts whose primary purpose was to be an oral presentation, e.g., speech or discourse. Although speeches were mostly written in prose, works written in metre are designed to be presented orally as this best displays the work’s cadence. Such genres include epic, tragedy, and comedy.

Although we know that it was read aloud, Acts’ lack of cadence and un-metred structure clearly indicate that it is a work of prose. Additionally, narrative is the best descriptor of the prose as it is not a drama (although there are dramatic elements), nor is it a dialogue (although Acts does contain dialogue). Furthermore, Acts is not a speech, sermon, or epistle, although there are some rhetorical elements (most notably

⁶⁶ Fowler, “Life and Death,” 202-203.

⁶⁷ Petersen, “So-Called Gnostic,” 43.

⁶⁸ Fowler, “Life and Death,” 202; For Fowler, features that distinguish different “kinds” include: Representative aspect, external structure, metrical structure, size, scale, subject, values, mood, occasion, attitude, *mise-en-scène*, character (impt for bio), “entanglement” or *entrelacement* (connectedness of the narrative/story, not high for intell bio), style, reader’s task (interaction with the text, what does the text inspire them to do?). Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 60-72.

speeches) that allow for better oral presentation. Acts' narrative is mostly continuative, although there are times that there are narrative disjunctures. For example, Acts has a tendency to follow a character for a while and then switch to another character without fully finishing with that character (e.g., Peter). Likewise, previous characters might be revisited, but lacking any update (e.g., Philip).

This mode of representation—prose narrative—is consistent with both history and individual and collected biographies.⁶⁹ Individual biographies can include speech (Isocrates' *Evagoras*), dialogue (Satyrus' *Euripides*), or a mixture of narrative and loosely-connected anecdotes (*Life of Secundus*, Lucian's *Demonax*). Collected biographies also have an array of modal representations from cohesive narrative for each individual (Plutarch, Suetonius), to a loose collection of material unattached to any narrative (Jerome), to a mixture of the two (Diogenes Laertius). Notably lacking from this list are representations exclusively based on speeches and dialogue. Although speeches and dialogue are both incorporated in collective biographies, neither provides the structural presentation of these works nor does either comprise the majority of the work. Acts is best seen as a continuous narrative, though it includes many other modes such as dialogue and speeches. The focus on narrative if considered by itself provides a stronger affiliation with history, although it is not outside the limits of biography.

The third aspect of mode is the narrator's representation. Acts begins with a brief first-person reference in the preface in which Luke connects this work to a previous one and addresses Theophilus. Note that the narrator provides a preface to the text in the first person. According to Alexander, ancient historians tended to use the third person, rather than first, for preface introductions.⁷⁰ Historians such as Thucydides ("Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians," Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων; 1.1) and Herodotus ("This is the display of the inquiry of Herodotus of Halicarnassus," Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέος ἱστορίας

⁶⁹ Dionysius (*Thuc.* 4) claims that Herodotus' *History* was a single narrative (ἐνὸς ἱστορίαν).

⁷⁰ Alexander, *Preface*, 26-27. A good contrast would be Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* in which the author is twice removed from the telling of the story, which is told second hand by a fictional character. See, Morgan (ed.), *Longus*, 17-20.

ἀπόδεξις ἤδε; 1.1) as well as Hecataeus and Antiochus open their respective works with a third person introduction.

However, there are also a number of histories that use a first person referent. For example Josephus' *Antiquities* opens, "Those who undertake to write histories, do not, I perceive, take that trouble on one and the same account, but for many reasons, and those such as are very different one from another" (τοῖς τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράφειν βουλομένοις οὐ μίαν οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁρῶ τῆς σπουδῆς γινομένην αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς καὶ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφερούσας; *praef.*). On the other hand, important Greek historians such as Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and others, not only fail to commence their work with a third person opening, but sometimes make use of the first person (e.g., Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 1.1.1—1.2.1), although sparingly. As a result, though there is a preference for third-person openings, there is substantial diversity in the history genre.⁷¹

In individual and collected biographies, if there is a preface, it often contains first-person references.⁷² Plutarch in *Thes.* 1.1 introduces his work, "So in the writing of my *Parallel Lives*, now that I have traversed those periods of time which are accessible to probable reasoning and which afford basis for a history dealing with facts..." (οὕτως ἐμοὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν βίων τῶν παραλλήλων γραφήν, τὸν ἐφισκτὸν εἰκότι λόγῳ καὶ βάσμον βίων ἱστορία πραγμάτων ἐχομένη χρόνον διελθόντι;). Similarly, Philostratus, *Vit. soph. praef.* ("I have written for you in two books..., ἐς δύο βιβλία ἀνέγραψά σοι) and Eunapius, *Vit. phil.* 453 ("But the aim of my narrative is not to write of the casual doings of distinguished men..., ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ εἰς τὰ πάρεργα τῶν σπουδαίων ὁ λόγος φέρει τὴν γραφήν) use the first person in their prefaces. This matches the style of Acts.

There are also times in which the first person plural is used in the Acts narrative itself (16:10-17; 20:5-16; 21:1-18; 27:1-28:16).⁷³ These "we" passages have generated much scholarly discussion in an attempt to determine if the "we" refers to the author, was derived from a source, etc.⁷⁴ These questions are beyond the purview

⁷¹ Adams, "Luke's Preface," 180-81; Earl, "Prologue-Form in Ancient Historiography," 843.

⁷² Diogenes only has third person references in this preface.

⁷³ In addition to this, there are a number of "we" passages located in Codex Bezae, most notably Acts 11:27.

⁷⁴ For a recent treatment of this issue, see W.S. Campbell, *The "We" Passages in the Acts of the Apostles: The Narrator as Narrative Character* (SBL 14; Atlanta: SBL, 2007). The use of "we" is

of this chapter. Nevertheless it is apparent that the “we” has a narrative function in that it associates the author of Acts with the Pauline missionary group, regardless of its historical veracity.

This use of the first person to punctuate the third person narrative proper is also common in history and biography. For example, although their narratives are based on the third person, both Thucydides and Polybius make use of both the first person singular and plural in their *Histories*.⁷⁵ Josephus also has first-person references in his *Wars* and *Antiquities*.⁷⁶ Such use of the first person is also evident in individual biographies. For example, although the narrative within the *Agesilaus* is based on third person narration, there are twenty-one occasions in which Xenophon interjects into the narrative with the first person singular.⁷⁷ Likewise, Philostratus makes regular use of the first person to accentuate his *Life of Apollonius*.⁷⁸

Collected biography authors also incorporate first person references in third-person narrative as can be seen in the works of Eunapius, Philostratus, and Jerome.⁷⁹ Noteworthy is Diogenes’ *Lives* in which the author is highly reluctant to make use of the first person singular, even in his preface and epilogue.⁸⁰ Conversely, Diogenes

also exhibited in some apocryphal Acts, L.S. Nasrallah, “‘She Became What the Words Signified’: The Greek *Acts of Andrew*’s Construction of the Reader-Disciple,” in F. Bovon, A.G. Brock, and C.R. Matthews (eds.), *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: Harvard Divinity School Studies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 233-58, 250.

⁷⁵ Thucydides: Singular: 1.1.3; 1.22.1-2; 2.4.8; 5.26.4-6; Plural: 1.13.4; 1.18.1; 2.102.6; 7.87.5; 8.41.2. Polybius: Singular: 3.4.13; 29.21.8-9; 36.1.3-7; Plural: 1.1.1; 1.1.4; 31.23.1-5; 36.1.1-2; 36.11.1-4; 38.5.1—6.7; 38.21.1; 39.8.1-3. Of particular interest is Polybius discussion in 36.12.1-5 in which he explains his use of person. Cf. Longinus, *Subl.* 26.

⁷⁶ Josephus, *Ant.*, Singular: 1.4, 5, 7; 10.218; 20.259, 268; Plural: 1.18, 25; 3.259; 6.350; 10.151; 14.77, 265-67; 16.187; *War*, Singular: 1.3; Plural 1.9-12; 2.114; 7.135, 454-55.

⁷⁷ Xenophon, *Ages.* 1.1, 6, 12; 2.7, 9; 3.1, 2, 5; 5.6, 7; 6.1; 7.1-2; 8.3, 4, 5, 7; 9.1; 10.1; 11.1, 9, 14. The only non-narrator instance of the first person singular occurs in a reported speech of Agesilaus (5.5). There is also one instance of the first person plural “we” in 7.1, but this can be understood as a rhetorical device. A similar pattern is seen in Isocrates’ *Evagoras*

⁷⁸ Book 1: 2.3-3.5; 4; 9.1; 9.2; 16.2; 19.2; 20.3; 21.1; 24.2; 25.1; 38.1; Book 2: 2.1; 2.2; 4; 9.3; 13.2; 13.3; 14.1; 16; 17.1; 18.2; 19.2; 21.1; 23; 42; 43; Book 3: 4.2; 6.1; 11; 14.2; 25.3; 41.2; 45.1; 50.2; 52; Book 4: 10.1; 13.3; 22.2; 25.6; 34.2; 34.4 (let us); 42.1; 43.1; Book 5: 1; 2; 8; 9; 12; 19.2; 24.2; 27.1; 27.3; 39*; 41.1; 43.4; Book 6: 1.2 (let us); 2; 27.4; 35.1; 35.2; 40.1; Book 7: 1*; 2.3; 3; 23.1; 31.2; 35; 39.2; 39.3; 42.6; Book 8: 1 (let us); 2 (we); 5.2; 5.4; 6.1; 8; 9; 20; 29; 30.1; 31.3.

⁷⁹ These citations do not include any examples from quotations, but only include those in which the author is part of the first person. Eunapius, *Vit. Phil.* 453, 454, 459, 460, 461(pl.), 462, 463, 466, 470, 473, 475, 476, 478, 480, 495, 500(pl.); Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 479, 480, 483, 484, 486, 488, 491, 492(x2), 494, 496, 497, 498, 499, 502, 503, 504, 506, 514, 515(x2), 516, 520, 523, 524, 527, 536, 537, 540, 543, 549, 550, 552, 562, 564, 565, 566, 567, 574, 576, 582, 583, 585, 587, 590, 593, 595, 597, 598, 602, 603, 604(pl.), 605, 606, 607, 612, 613, 615, 617, 620, 626(pl.), 627, 628; Jerome, *Vit. ill. praef.*, 2, 3, 5, 12, 16, 25, 38, 45, 53, 54, 61, 75, 82, 92, 108, 109, 115, 124, 129, 131, 132, 134, 135; Plural: *praef.*, 7, 9, 11, 16, 18, 35, 37, 38, 45, 53, 54, 61, 62, 73, 80.

⁸⁰ There are only two occurrences of the first person singular that I was able to find, 1.5; 3.13.

makes numerous uses of the first person plural, even when the first person singular would have been more appropriate.⁸¹

All of these examples indicate that Acts' use of the first person (singular and plural) is consistent with the practice established by history and biography, although is more akin to the amount of occurrences in biography. Similarly, the other features of modal representation, that Acts is a continuous prose narrative that was not primarily created for oral presentation, also affiliate Acts with both history and biography works.

3.2 *Metre*

As discussed above and in chapter four, the metre of a work was an immediate genre marker for ancients who divided literature into metred and non-metred works.⁸² Furthermore, metred works were further subdivided by metre type.⁸³ This did not immediately indicate which genre the work was, but, depending on the metre, the reader could eliminate a number of genre possibilities.

A number of ancient genres use un-metred continuous prose narratives (e.g., novel, history, epistles, treatises, etc.). Both individual and collected biographies, as well as histories, are almost exclusively written in prose.⁸⁴ As a result, identifying the metre of Acts as prose literature is consistent with a collected biography claim, but does not rule out other prose genres. It does suggest, however, that Acts is not an epic or a tragedy.

3.3 *Size*

The size of a work has been an under-utilised genre marker, although it is becoming more common to evaluate a work in light of its length.⁸⁵ Although sometimes taken for granted, the size of a work does facilitate genre differentiation. This was even

⁸¹ Diogenes, 1.18, 27, 39, 41, 72, 85, 97, 102, 120; 2.15, 21, 46, 50, 58, 88, 93, 96, 110, 112, 120, 144; 3.13, 45, 50; 4.1, 3, 20, 27, 45, 54, 61, 65; 5.8, 11, 40, 60, 68, 79, 90; 6.19, 79, 100; 7.23, 31, 86, 87, 124, 129, 131, 138, 143, 145, 152, 156, 157, 160, 176, 184; 8.13, 26, 27, 44, 74, 84, 91; 9.4, 9, 10, 28, 44, 56, 59, 82, 84, 93, 101, 108, 109; 10.16.

⁸² Dionysius, *Comp.* 3 (ἔστι τοίνυν πᾶσα λέξις ἣ σημαίνομεν τὰς νοήσεις ἢ μὲν ἔμμετρος, ἢ δὲ ἄμμετρος). C.f., Aristotle, *Poet.* 9, 1451b1.

⁸³ E.g., Aristotle, *Poet.* 4, 1449a20-23; 24, 1459b31-38.

⁸⁴ Although this does not exclude portions of the text to be metred, as is seen in a number of inserted poetic excerpts particularly in *Lives* whose subject is a poet.

⁸⁵ Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 64.

recognised by Aristotle (*Poet.* 7, 1450b 25) who claims that tragedy must be of a certain magnitude (ἐχούσης τι μέγεθος). Although it is difficult to prescribe a necessary size for any specific genre, it is apparent upon evaluating the lengths of particular works that a general range can be established.⁸⁶

There appear to be three genres that are typically large in size: epic, history, and philosophical treatises. Epic (almost by definition) is a large work.⁸⁷ For example, Homer's *Iliad* has 115,477 words and his *Odyssey* 87,765. Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* is some what shorter with 39,090 words, whereas Virgil's *Aeneid* is approximately 10,000 lines. History works are even bigger. Herodotus (189,489), Thucydides (153,260), Pausanias (224,602), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (295,922), Polybius (327,805), Josephus, *Antiquities* (322,394), and Diodorus, *Bibiloteca Historica* (488,790) are all mammoth works, although a smaller example, though still large, is Xenophon's *Hellenica* (67,939). Certain philosophical treatises are also quite large, e.g., Plato's *Republic* (89,359), *Laws* (106,298); and Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (80,635), and *Nicomachaen Ethics* (58,040).⁸⁸

Conversely, genres characterised by small size would include orations (typically 1,000-5,000 words), epigrams, and ancient letters. E.R. Richards claims,

In the approximately 14,000 private letters from Greco-Roman antiquity, the average length was about 87 words, ranging in length from 18 to 209 words ... Cicero averaged 295 words per letter, ranging from 22 to 2,530, and Seneca averaged 995, ranging from 149 to 4,134. By both standards, though, Paul's letters were quite long. The thirteen letters bearing his name average 2,495 words, ranging from 335 (Philemon) to 7,114 (Romans).⁸⁹

In addition to letters, most hymns are also short (e.g., Second Delphic Hymn is 40 lines; Mesomedes *Hymn* is 879 words).

⁸⁶ There is no exact word count that neatly divides size categories. However, one standard method of division is by "sitting" size, how much can be read in one sitting, which is often the size of one scroll. A number of small works can be fit on one scroll, compared to one medium-size work. On the other hand, a large work will require multiple scrolls. Accordingly, a small work would be defined as having less than 10,000 words, a medium between 10,000 and 25,000, and a large work over 25,000 words. It is important to note that these are relative and somewhat arbitrary divisions as scrolls could vary widely in size. For more discussion, see Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 43-48; Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 63; R.P. Oliver, "The First Medicean MS of Tacitus and the Titulature of Ancient Books," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 232-61, 246-48; Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 114.

⁸⁷ Aristotle, *Poet.* 5, 1449b13, ἡ δὲ ἐποποιία ἀόριστος τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τοῦτο διαφέρει.

⁸⁸ All word counts in this paragraph were taken from TLG.

⁸⁹ E.R. Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul* (WUNT 2.42; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 213.

Medium-range genres include some philosophical treatises, novels, and individual biographies. In contrast to the large philosophical works, there are a number of moderate length (e.g., Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* 15,704; Plato's *Dialogues* generally range between 5,000-25,000). The complete novels that we have are all medium length: e.g., Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* (20,929); Chariton's *Callirhoe* (37,860); Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaca* (17,197). Individual biographies are also of moderate length of which there are a number of examples: Isocrates, *Evagoras* (4,820); Josephus, *Vita* (16,293); Lucian, *Demonax* (3,179), *Nigrinus* (4,114), *Timon* (6,070), *Alexander* (7,021), *Peregrinus* (4,285); Philo, *De Vita Mosis* (32,002); Xenophon, *Agésilas* (7,559). The notable exceptions to this would be Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* at 87,068 words and possibly Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* at 80,710, depending on its genre assignment.

Collected biographies, however, display a range of medium to large sizes. Close to the medium size, Philostratus' *Vitae Sophistarum* is 29,905 words, Eunapius' *Vitae Philosophorum* is 21,429 words, Philo' *De Abrahamo*, which is part of a larger triad, is 13,617, Nepos' *Lives* is 24,312, and Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* is 11,439 words. Longer collected biographies include Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars* (70,429), Diogenes Laertius' *Lives* (109,777), and Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* (507,184).

These collected biographies form a literary whole. However, each of these works is subdivided into smaller components that make a larger whole. For example, Diogenes' *Lives* is comprised of ten books, each of which would be considered a medium size work.⁹⁰ This also holds true for Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, although some of the divisions fall into the small range.⁹¹ Plutarch's *Lives* is somewhat different as the shortest pairing (*Philopoemen* and *Flaminius*) is 12,713 words and the longest pairing (*Alexander* and *Julius Caesar*) is 37,330 words even missing the closing *synkrisis*. Most of Plutarch's paired *Lives* are in the range of 18,000-20,000 words.

⁹⁰ Each book is given with its word count and percentage of the total work. Book 1: 11,225 (10.2%); Book 2: 12,965 (11.8%); Book 3: 9,712 (8.8%); Book 4: 6,042 (5.5%); Book 5: 8,704 (7.9%); Book 6: 9,219 (8.4%); Book 7: 19,102 (17.4%); Book 8: 7,981 (7.3%); Book 9: 10,756 (9.8%); Book 10: 14,071 (12.8%).

⁹¹ Julius Caesar, 9,741 (13.8%); Augustus, 13,870 (19.7%); Tiberius, 9,314 (13.2%); Caligula, 7,761 (11.0%); Claudius, 6,563 (9.3%); Nero, 7,942 (11.3%); Galba, 2,869 (4.1%); Otho, 1,670 (2.4%); Vitellius, 2,401 (3.4%); Vespasian 3,218 (4.6%); Titus, 1,490 (2.1%); Domitian, 3,590 (5.1%).

Turning to the New Testament, Burridge, following Morganthaler, has highlighted the fact that all four gospels fall neatly in the medium range.⁹² Furthermore, Burridge has also noted that, out of all of the other New Testament works, only Acts has a comparable size: 18,454 words.⁹³

Furthermore, if we compare Acts to some of the collected biographies above there is a good fit. For shorter collected biographies the word range is between 11,439 (Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus*) and 29,905 (Philostratus' *Vitae Sophistarum*). Similarly, the average length of one of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* is 18,000-20,000 words and the average book length for Diogenes Laertius' *Lives* is approximately 11,000. Therefore, size is another feature shared between Acts and individual and collected biographies.

3.4 Structure

How a work is structured indicates to the reader the author's perspective of the narrative and what he thinks is important. This determines how the work develops and is organised.⁹⁴ Novels were fictionally structured to create a story loosely based on real-life situations.⁹⁵ Ancient histories were structured topographically and chronologically.⁹⁶ For example, Thucydides divides his work based on summer and winter seasons, whereas Livy's *Roman History* is structured on annual chronologies.

Individual biographies, on the other hand, are typically structured on the life of the individual in focus, beginning with birth and concluding with death. Accordingly, chronological development is a typical organisational feature of the work. This is not to say that the internal structure of the work is consistent across all specimens, but rather that the *bios* genre is structured around the life of a person as opposed to a strict olympiadic, seasonal, or thematic organisation.

⁹² R. Morganthaler, *Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes* (Zurich: Gotthelf, 1958), 164; Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 194, 219. Matthew – 18,305; Mark – 11,242; Luke – 19,428; John – 15,416.

⁹³ This number is taken from a personal computer count of NA²⁷.

⁹⁴ For a discussion of tragedy's structure, see Aristotle, *Poet.* 12, 1452b13-16.

⁹⁵ Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 104. Pervo states that "fictional structuring and arrangement are fundamental for understanding the genre." Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* is based on seasonal divisions: 1.9.1; 1.23.1; 1.28.1; 2.1.1; 3.3.1; 3.12.1; 3.24.1.

⁹⁶ Dionysius, *Thuc.* 9, γενομένων συγγραφέων ἢ κατὰ τόπους μεριζόντων τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἢ κατὰ χρόνους. Cf. Polybius, *Hist.* 38.5.1—6.7, in which he explicitly discusses the structuring of his work.

In a majority of ancient biographies the author begins with the ancestry, birth and training of the subject, continues by discussing notable events within that person's life, and concludes with the death and burial.⁹⁷ Not every biography has every feature, nor are they structured similarly. For example, philosophical biographies typically have less chronological underpinning and spend more time on sayings and teachings. Political and military biographies have a greater emphasis on deeds and actions which adhere better to specific chronological ordering.⁹⁸

Collected biographies tend to be more rigidly structured on individuals, not on their birth or death, but segmenting the text into individual life portions. These lives are not to be individually understood, but rather form a larger unit that hangs together and forms a cohesive whole.⁹⁹ In these modules the typical *bios* topics can be followed, but are not required. For example, Diogenes consistently provides the city of origin, ancestry, education, and (often) death, whereas Jerome's *Lives* typically only include comments on the person's literary achievements. Despite the diversity of content, the important point is that the work derives its structure from a sequence of lives. These lives are often discreet, fully completing the discussion of one person before continuing to the next. However, this is not always the case and the genre affords some flexibility. For example, as mentioned above, Eunapius' discussion of Aedesius the Cappadocian is divided into two parts (461 and 464-465) and there are sometimes discussions of other philosophers in other lives.¹⁰⁰ Another example would be Diogenes 10.22-26, in which three disciples of Epicurus (Metrodorus, Polyaeus, Leonteus) are introduced and briefly discussed, breaking Diogenes' discussion of the character in focus.

As seen in section two above, Acts appears to be structured on the successor activities of its key subjects. Although Paul gets a substantial allocation of space in the last half of Acts, the first half of the work is not focused on one lone individual, but rather recounts actions and deeds of a number of Jesus followers (e.g., Peter, Barnabas, Stephen, the disciples). Furthermore, the focus on specific disciples is preceded by a disciple list. Acts 1:13-14 precedes Luke's focus on the disciples,

⁹⁷ For examples of these literary *topoi*, see Appendix 1.

⁹⁸ See chapter four for specific examples.

⁹⁹ Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius*, 57.

¹⁰⁰ E.g., Iamblichus' death at 461-462 and the discussion of Clearchus (479) in Maximus' section (473-481).

specifically Peter and John. Acts 6:5 provides the names of seven who are selected by the Twelve and introduces Stephen and Philip and their narratives. Finally, Acts 13:1 provides a list of prophets and teachers in Antioch, which includes Barnabas and Saul, and functions as the beginning of Paul's missionary ministry. A fuller discussion of disciple lists and structure occurs in chapter seven. Suffice to say at this moment that the organization of Acts falls within the spectrum of other collected biographies and suggests strong genre relationship.

3.5 *Scale of Subject and Chronological Scope*

The subject and temporal scale of a work is another important genre identifier,¹⁰¹ and was considered by many ancients to be related to the work's topic.¹⁰² Typically, a wide scale is associated with historiography, particularly annals, in which a broad variety of events in a year are recorded. Conversely, a work with a narrow scale is highly focused on a particular subject, event, or place.

Collected biographies often follow a particular principle of organization that narrows the work's focus. For example, Plutarch's pairing of like subjects provides strict parameters for his *Lives*. Suetonius, in his *Lives of the Caesars*, focuses his work exclusively on the political succession of the Caesars and the related events. Alternatively, *De Viris Illustribus* have the potential to have a wide scale as they are not limited to any one subject. For example, Nepos' *De Viris Illustribus* had at least sixteen books, each on a different topic.¹⁰³ Similarly, the now-lost work by Suetonius *On Illustrious Men* is reported to contain sections on grammarians, rhetoricians, poets (Terence, Virgil, Horace, Lucan) with selections of their poems in various forms, orators, and historians. However, though the work as a whole suggests a wide scale, each individual book significantly narrows that scale by focusing exclusively on men from one field. A good example of this narrow focus applied to a whole work is Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* who only discusses Christian writers.

¹⁰¹ Cooper, "Aristoxenos," 313. "Scale or size is the key difference between history and bios."

¹⁰² Dionysius, *Thuc.* 1, τῆς εὐκαιρίας τῶν γραφομένων στοχαζόμενος.

¹⁰³ It is generally thought that the books on generals was a late addition to the already established books on intellectuals which consists of at least 16 books (Charisius, *Ars grammatica* 1.141.13), although some have suggested there might be 18 books (which included at least the categories of generals, historians, kings and poets). Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 88.

This narrowing in focus from the whole to individual books is also evident in Diogenes Laertius. His *Lives* as a whole discuss the range of Greek philosophical thought, whereas each book delineates one specific school (1.18-21). Eunapius (454) and Philostratus (479), on the other hand, trace the lives of philosophers and sophists, respectively, and do not have any other focus. Comparing these divisions to the above category of size, it is apparent that large works which have multiple books, such as Diogenes Laertius and the *De Viris Illustribus* by Nepos and Suetonius, have the ability to accommodate a wider scale. However, it is also notable that each of these biographers limits his focus within each book to a narrower topic.

Acts, though having a broader narrative arc that traces the actions of a number of disciples, has a scale very close to an individual book of Diogenes or Suetonius or the works of Eunapius or Philostratus. In all of these biographies, the authors discuss a number of characters, but focus on those that are members or representatives of a particular school or profession. Similarly, Acts centers on those who are disciples of Jesus and focuses on their interactions with outsiders. Although there is clearly greater narrative scale in Acts than in the other collected biographies, the scale of Acts is still narrow due to the amount of material that has been omitted.¹⁰⁴ As opposed to histories, which focus on important events, Acts, like collected biographies, foregrounds key individuals and places events in the background. For example, Acts shows no interest in events happening throughout the Roman Empire, including wars and political changes. Rather, Luke only references politically important people or events as they interact with his character in focus, e.g., Herod in the imprisonment of Peter (12:1-23), and Felix (23:23-24:27), Festus (25:1-26:32), and Agrippa (25:13-26:32) in the trial of Paul.

The chronological scope of a work is also pertinent to genre delineation. For example, in a rhetorical or philosophical treatise there is an absence of temporal references by which to delineate chronological scope. These works are not intended to talk about specific historical events, but rather speak of ideas that are not temporally grounded. A novel, on the other hand, has chronological development

¹⁰⁴ Burridge (*What Are the Gospels?*, 116; “Genre of Acts”) is correct to emphasise that when evaluating the scale of a work what needs to be considered is not only what is included, but also what has been omitted.

within the narrative in that there is clear temporal and geographic movement.¹⁰⁵ Although there is substantial travel in ancient novels, the chronological scope of the work is quite narrow as the main events often take place within a couple years. Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, uniquely, commences not when the main characters are in their prime, but after they had been born and exposed by their parents (*Daphn.* 1.2, 4). Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesian Tale* opens with the main characters being sixteen and fourteen (*Eph.* 1.2). These works do not explicitly express what age the characters are when the narrative concludes, but it is apparent from narrative cues that only a few years' time has passed.

Ancient histories have a wide range of temporal scopes. For example, Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* opens with an overview of the history of Greek states leading up to the war (1.1-19). Following his methodology section (1.20-23), Thucydides begins the narrative proper with the causes of the war, explicitly dated to 433-432 BC (1.24-66). The events of the war are recounted year-by-year concluding at 410 BC, omitting the final six years of the war. Unlike the temporally-focused work of Thucydides, Herodotus's *Histories* has a wider chronological range and is less temporally structured, although a majority of the text's events occur in sixth and fifth centuries. Polybius' *Histories* has clear narrative dates, beginning in the year 264 BC, concluding in 146 BC, and specifically focusing on the 53 years when Rome conquered the Carthaginians to become the dominant Mediterranean power.

In contrast to the wide temporal scopes of history, individual biographies are often much more narrowly focused, restricting the narrative to the life of an individual and some of the events prior to birth and following death.¹⁰⁶ Collected biographies tend to have wide chronological scopes as they trace a number of lives. On the narrower side would be Plutarch, whose *Parallel Lives* has a temporal range of two lifetimes.¹⁰⁷ Most collected biographies, however, cover a larger time period. For example, Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars* begins ca. 85 BC and concludes at the

¹⁰⁵ Alexander, "Fact, Fiction and the Genre of Acts," 153-56.

¹⁰⁶ See Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 137. Cooper ("Aristoxenos," 313) states that scale and size are the key differences between history and bios. Similarly, Marincola suggests that "chronological range" is the key distinctive between history and biography. J. Marincola, "Genre, Convention and Innovation in Greco-Roman Historiography," in C.S. Kraus (ed.), *The Limits of Historiography: Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts* (MS 191; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 281-324, 303 n.81.

¹⁰⁷ The notable exception would be *Agis and Cleomenes* and *Tiberius and Caius Gracchus*.

assassination of Domitian in 96 AD. Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* covers a range of nearly four centuries, whereas Eunapius' *Lives* has a range of two centuries (ca. 200-400 AD). Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* covers a range of over six centuries, although there is a gap of almost four centuries between when he discusses Aeschines and the founding of the Second Sophistic (*Vit. soph.* 507).

Diogenes Laertius' *Lives* also has a large temporal scope, beginning with references to philosophers in the sixth century BC (book 1) and continuing to the second century BC.¹⁰⁸ However, within the individual books there is a much narrower range. For example books 3 and 10 focus exclusively on one philosopher, Plato and Epicurus, respectively, and almost exclusively on their philosophical careers. Book 4, however, ranges from Speusippus (ca. 348 BC, 4.1) to Clitomachus, (ca. 129 BC, 4.67). Book seven has a range of approximately 100 years from Zeno's training and founding of his school to the flourishing of Chrysippus, the seventh head of the school.

The chronological scope of Luke and Acts are narrow, bearing similarities to Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* in that together they cover approximately sixty years (from the events leading to the birth of Jesus to Paul's imprisonment in Rome). Acts' scope covers roughly thirty years, slightly less than the time covered in Diogenes' Book 10 on Epicurus. However, when comparing Acts to other succession biographies it is important to remember that the writer of Acts was limited in that he was living in only the second to third generation after the founding of the movement.¹⁰⁹ This naturally restricted the chronological range. As a result, the chronological scope of Acts falls on the narrower side of the spectrum of biographical literature.

3.6 Use of Sources

The identification and inclusion of sources is a feature typically associated with history and biography. Although it is clear that other genres made use of sources, the critical citing and use of sources is a distinguishing feature of these genres and can

¹⁰⁸ The latest dateable philosopher is Clitomachus (4.67), who was head of the Academy from 129 BC and died 110/109 BC.

¹⁰⁹ A similar parallel would be Hermippus' writing of *On Isocrates* (F 42-44) and *On Isocrates' Disciples* (F 45-54) within about a century of the events, but still appears to have only mentioned the first generation of Isocrates' disciples.

assist in genre delineation. Novels, epics, and philosophical and rhetorical discourses rarely make explicit use of sources, although their existence can occasionally be noted. Biography and history are much more explicit, citing both oral and written sources as well as personal experience.

For history the most notable example is Thucydides who was one of the first historians to place a high premium on the dependence on sources in order to compile an accurate account of events. In his preface (1.20-22) he makes a number of references to his methodology of interviewing people who were at events, having people recall speeches given, and remembering his own experiences. This methodology placed prime value on seeing for oneself, or, failing that, relying on eyewitnesses.

Herodotus, although he does not explicitly mention his sources within his preface, alludes to their importance throughout his history. A fine example of this can be found at 4.16 where he expresses that for the next section of his history he unfortunately has not found anyone who claims to have actually seen this location. However, through careful inquiry of hearsay he will write about this locality and include it in his history.¹¹⁰ Josephus in his preface to *Antiquities* states that his information regarding the history of the Jewish people comes directly from the Jewish scriptures (μέλλει γὰρ περιέξειν ἅπασαν τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαιολογίαν καὶ διάταξιν τοῦ πολοτεύματος ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν μεθρημηνευμένην γραμμάτων, 1.5).¹¹¹

In individual biographies we have a number of examples of authors citing sources. Philo in the preface of *Mosis* (1.4) refers to both scriptures (καὶ βιβλίων τῶν ἱερῶν) and the nation's elders (ἔθνους πρεσβυτέρων) as sources for his work. Philostratus in *Apollonius* references the memoirs and eyewitness accounts of Damis (1.19; 3.36; 4.19; 7.38). Lucian includes a section of sayings (λελεγμένων) in *Demonax* 12 and recalls personal experiences in *Alexander* 53-57.

References to sources are also found in collected biographies. Plutarch in *Theseus* (1.1-3) expresses to his readers that he is now writing about people who lived so long ago that there are no people who have factual information about them, so he must now rely on fables (μυθῶδες). Also, within each life Plutarch references various

¹¹⁰ Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.16, ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκέως ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἳ τε ἐγενόμεθα ἀκοῇ ἐξικέσθαι, πᾶν εἰρήσεται.

¹¹¹ Cf. 2 Macc 2:23.

works that he used as sources.¹¹² Nepos claims personal knowledge for writing his *Atticus* (*saepe...domesticis rebus interfui*mus, 13.7).¹¹³ Eunapius is primarily dependent on his own eyewitness (481) and oral reports (453) that he received from other philosophers, namely Chrysanthius (477) and Tuscianus (484, 488). Similarly, Philostratus also made use of oral reports as sources for his subjects (524, 550, 552, 579, 605).

The collected biographer best known for the use of sources is clearly Diogenes Laertius, whose citations make his *Lives* an excellent trove of ancient literary excerpts.¹¹⁴ Unfortunately, so much attention has been given to Diogenes' use of sources that scholars have failed to see the writer behind them.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, Diogenes clearly illustrates that the use of sources was a valid component of collected biographies.

Luke's preface claims that he made use of eyewitness sources (αὐτόπται) for the construction of his narrative (διήγησιν).¹¹⁶ Although Luke does not cite his sources within his text, it is clear from the Gospel's relationship to Mark and "Q" that Luke also made use of written sources for his composition of Acts. This use of sources is also evident in the "we" passages of Acts where Luke appears to be giving a personal eyewitness testimony. The use of sources by Luke and Acts differentiate them from novels and epics and place them within the historical-biographical tradition.

3.7 Literary Units

Although a text forms a holistic work, it is comprised of smaller literary units, such as the preface, speeches, dialogues, maxims, etc. It is often the case that larger literary works are made from a variety of units, rather than just one or two. On the other hand, smaller works, such as letters, might be restricted to one type. Based on the competency of the author and the purpose of the text these units can be carefully woven together to form a tightly-knit work, or loosely connected, being held together only by their proximity.

¹¹² For a discussion of *Agesilaus*, see D.R. Shipley, *A Commentary on Plutarch's Life of Agesilaos: Response to Sources in the Presentation of Character* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 46-55.

¹¹³ Cf. Tacitus, *Agr.* 24.3, *saepe ex eo audivi*.

¹¹⁴ For a list of biographical works that Diogenes cites, see Appendix 2.

¹¹⁵ Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 8-16.

¹¹⁶ For more discussion on αὐτόπται, see Adams, "Luke's Preface," 187-90; Alexander, *Preface*, 120-23.

Ancient individual and collected biographies make use of anecdotes, sayings, stories, speeches, discourses, personal or geographical descriptions, and descriptions of personal events, such as birth or death.¹¹⁷ Although each unit type is not found in every biography, every biography includes some or many of these unit types. There are, however, patterns of inclusion. For example, *Lives* with a philosophical subject typically have a clear emphasis on speeches, sayings, and teachings.

Furthermore, some *Lives* are well-constructed, highly-cohesive narratives, formed from a variety of literary units (e.g., Plutarch, Suetonius). However, a number of collected *Lives* are less structured, lacking a cohesive narrative and strong links between the *Lives* (Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus, Eunapius, Jerome). Once again, the latter are primarily those with philosophical subjects. These examples indicate that a wide range of literary units was available for biographers and that variation was also acceptable in the units' level of cohesion.

Such features are also found in Luke and Acts.¹¹⁸ In Acts there are numerous speeches, dialogues, geographic descriptions, and stories all fitted into a narrative whole. This narrative is mostly well-constructed as it traces the development and spread of the Christian movement from its inception to Paul's imprisonment in Rome. The narrative cohesion exhibited in Acts is more akin to that of Plutarch and Suetonius than some of the philosophical biographies; however, its emphasis on teaching and speeches does align it with the latter. The focus on different characters has the potential to create strong disjunctions in the narrative, as is exhibited in a number of philosophical biographies. In Acts this is combated by Luke's use of disciple lists that introduce the characters he is about to discuss (Acts 1:14; 6:5; 13:1; 20:4).

There are portions of Acts that decrease its narrative unity. These are instances in which there is a sharp change in the narrative and where a scene ends without closure. The Philip narrative provides a good illustration. Though Luke provides an opening transition phrase in 8:4 outlining the reason for Philip's mission, there is a lack of closure as Luke concludes this section with Philip preaching on his way to Caesarea (8:40) after which the narrative immediately returns to Saul. Within this section the interaction between Peter and Simon is also left unfinished, with the reader not

¹¹⁷ See Appendix 1 for references.

¹¹⁸ For a discussion of Luke's literary units, see Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 196-98.

knowing explicitly what became of Simon (8:24). Furthermore, this section contains a number of literary units, such as dialogue, travel, miracles, and confrontation of enemies in which Luke attempts to provide a balance.¹¹⁹ The combination of sayings, stories, and speeches into a cohesive narrative suggests that Acts construction is similar to biographies.

3.8 Methods of Characterisation

Methods of characterisation are the ways that characters are portrayed in the text. This is not a discussion of quality, which is a component of content and discussed below in internal features; rather, this section looks at *how* writers typically portray their characters.

Ancient writers were not interested in psychological assessment, trying to get behind what happened to understand the mind of the actor. Rather, ancient writers portrayed character through a person's actions and words.¹²⁰ Accordingly, a number of ancient biographers and historians focused on deeds and actions to present a biographic picture. For example, Xenophon seeks to present Agesilaus' person through deeds that portrayed his character.¹²¹ Similarly, Tacitus opens his work by referencing *clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere* (1.1).

In collected biographies, Plutarch, in *Alex.* 1.1-3, claims that in his lives he will be evaluating the little things (πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλάκις καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ παιδιὰ) in addition to the great deeds (ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεσι) of Alexander and Caesar. Likewise in *Cato Minor* 37.4 Plutarch indicates that small incidents shed much light on the “manifestation and understanding of character” (πρὸς ἔνδειξιν ἥθους καὶ κατανόησιν). It is clear, however, that Plutarch is more focused on deeds than words as only about 12% of the work is of direct speech.¹²²

Suetonius, like Plutarch, does not rely on direct characterisation despite his contrasting “topical approach” (*neque per tempora sed per species*, *Aug.* 9). Although nearly each *Life* has some discussion of personal appearance (see

¹¹⁹ Horsley, “Speeches and Dialogue in Acts,” 610.

¹²⁰ Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1.9.33, 1367b, τὰ δ' ἔργα σημεία τῆς ἑξέως ἐστίν; *Poet.* 15, 1454a18.

¹²¹ Xenophon, *Ages.* 1.6, ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τοὺς τρόπους αὐτοῦ κάλλιστα νομίζω καταδήλους ἔσεσθαι.

¹²² Plutarch *Phoc.* 5.4 claims that “a word or a nod” (καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ νεῦμα) are more important than lengthy writing. R.I. Pervo, “Direct Speech in Acts and the Question of Genre,” *JSNT* 28 (2006): 285-307, 300.

Appendix 1), there is little direct analysis of character. Rather, it emerges from the overarching account of the person's words and deeds.¹²³ This is also the case for the virtue and vice sections.¹²⁴

As mentioned above, Acts opens by reminding the reader of the contents of Luke: "what Jesus began to do and teach" (ὃν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν). Again, the use of ἤρξατο indicates possible continuation and suggests that Acts will continue to focus on Jesus' actions and sayings. The narrative of Acts, however, is structured on the actions, deeds, and sayings of Jesus' followers. Other collected biographies, particularly those of Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus, Eunapius, and Jerome, are focused on the words and teachings of their characters, rather than actions. This is demonstrated by the large proportion of those texts dedicated to speeches, sayings, and noting important literary works written by the subject. Although the last feature is notably absent in Acts, the former two features compose a large portion of the Acts narrative, 51% according to Pervo.¹²⁵ This percentage is significantly greater than speech in histories (trace-28%),¹²⁶ although quite similar to "fiction" works (46-61%).¹²⁷

Though Acts and novels are similar in the amount of speech, Acts shows parallels with the use of dialogue in collected biographies as indicated by Horsley.¹²⁸ Acts also follows the biographical perspective of using dialogue to evaluate the character of the person as opposed to novels that are less interested in the development of moral character. For example, there are numerous set speeches and dialogues in Acts, which, as mentioned above, form a large portion of Acts.¹²⁹ Horsley claims that the set speeches in Acts are not to be found in ancient biographies, as they only make use of dialogue and "one-liners."¹³⁰ There are methodological issues, however, with

¹²³ Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 171. Cf. Nepos, *Pel.* 1.1.

¹²⁴ Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius*, 143-44.

¹²⁵ Pervo, "Direct Speech," 288.

¹²⁶ E.g., Josephus' *Wars* has 8.8%, whereas the opening books of *Antiquities* and Polybius' *History* is close to zero percent. Hemer, *Book of Acts*, 417-18.

¹²⁷ Pervo, "Direct Speech," 296-99.

¹²⁸ The collected biographies used by Horsley, however, are lacking in sustained speeches. G.H.R. Horsley, "Speeches and Dialogue in Acts," *NTS* 32 (1986): 609-14, 613.

¹²⁹ Speeches: 2:14-40; 3:12-26; 4:24-30(?); 7:2-56; 10:34-43; 13:16-41; 17:22-31; 19:35-40; 20:18-35; 22:1-21; 24:10-21; 25:26-21; 26:2-23; Dialogue: 1:4-8; 4:7-12, 16-17, 19-20; 5:8-9, 28-39; 8:19-24; 8:30-38; 9:4-6, 10-17; 10:13-15, 19-23; 11:3-18; 12:7-11; 15:6-21; 16:28-32, 35-37; 19:2-5; 21:19-25; 22:25-28; 23:17-22; 26:24-32.

¹³⁰ Horsley, "Speeches and Dialogue in Acts," 613.

Horsley's categories as there is no explicit size delineation or criteria. Additionally, there are other biographies not mentioned by Horsley that contain speeches. For example, Porphyry's *Plotinus* has many block speeches/statements from characters (19, 20, 22), although Plotinus' statements are short (14, 15).¹³¹ Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life* records many extended sayings (63, 75-78) and maxims (82-86) of Pythagoras. Thus Acts shows strong similarities with history and biography in the use of deeds and speech to portray character, with history in the importance of speeches, and with novels and biography in the percentage of the text dedicated to direct speech.

3.9 Summary

From the above investigation of external features there are some notable trends that have emerged. First, the external features of Acts suggest that it is not epic. Not only is there a difference in metre, but there is considerable difference in size, scale, structure, use of sources, and mode of representation.¹³² This is a substantial problem for labelling Acts an epic.¹³³

Second, although Acts shows some similarities to ancient novels in its size, metre, and methods of characterisation, there are some notable differences. First, the structure of Acts as a whole differs notably from novels as it is structured on multiple, near-discrete lives (e.g., the successive shift to focus on different disciples—Peter, Barnabas, Philip, Stephen—and not just the main protagonists). Further, the storyline of these Acts characters lacks narrative closure, which is unacceptable in novels. For example, we do not know what happens to John, Philip, or Barnabas once their scenes are complete or whether they will return to the narrative. Second, regarding the mode of representation, novels do not tend to have first-person authorial intrusions in the narrative, which are found in Acts. Third, Acts' use of sources is not a generic feature of novels. These external features suggest Acts should not be labelled a novel.

¹³¹ This does not include copied letters, Porphyry, *Plot.* 17.

¹³² Aristotle, *Poet.* 24, 1459b17, Διαφέρει δὲ κατὰ τε τῆς συστάσεως τὸ μῆκος ἢ ἐποποιία καὶ τὸ μέτρον.

¹³³ *Contra Bonz, Past as Legacy*, 189-93.

Finally, Acts has a number of features in common with history and biography, both individual and collected. These are particularly evident with mode of representation, metre, scope, sources, and methods of characterisation. That Acts shares these with both history and biography is not unexpected, as these are highly related genres. However, Acts does differ notably from history in that it is of medium size, whereas histories are typically much larger. Further, the structure of Acts parallels collected biographies, whose organising principle is based on the modular portrayal of characters in which one person is presented and discussed before the narrative progresses to another character. Overall, the external features of Acts support the view that Acts is well situated in the history-biography genre sphere. The best genre claim as determined by external features, however, is collected biographies.

4. Internal Features

Internal features (including subject and opening features above) indicate the content of the work and, along with external features, help determine the genre of the work. Indicated by setting, literary *topoi*, style, tone/mood, and quality of characterisation, the content of the work assists in determining the text's function, social setting, and purpose. Although all these features will be discussed briefly here, some (audience and purpose) will have a more complete discussion in chapters six and seven.

4.1 Setting

The setting of a work shapes generic expectations as certain settings are associated with particular genres. Most novels, for example, have extended boat scenes, much travel, and a wide variety of geographic settings.¹³⁴ Pastoral works, as the genre title suggests, often commence in a field, under a tree (e.g., Theocritus' *Idylls*; Virgil's *Eclogues*), but mostly outside the city in the country (Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*). Epics, however, are at home on the battle field (*Iliad*) or on boats (*Odyssey*, *Argonotica*). On the other hand, a number of genres are not geographically specific, or have a number of geographical locales.

¹³⁴ T. Hägg, "The Ancient Greek Novel: A Singular Model or a Plurality of Forms?," in F. Moretti (ed.), *The Novel: Volume 1* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 125-55, 126.

The geographic settings of collected biographies are quite diverse and determined by the subject in focus. For example, Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars* is based broadly in the Roman Empire, but the individual lives are not limited to one locale (though centered in Rome). Plutarch's *Lives* are limited to the wider Mediterranean, but each life is encapsulated in a smaller geographic space.

On the other hand, a number of collected biographies do not have a particular geographic designation. Jerome's *Lives* has limited references to locations or cities and there is no narrative to connect them. The *Lives* of Philostratus and Eunapius are also geographically bereft; however, the authors typically state which city the philosopher/sophist hailed from (see Appendix 1). Diogenes Laertius *Lives* has a broad geographic setting based on the region where the founder had his ministry, specifically Ionia (Ἰωνική) and Italy (Ἰταλική) (1.13).

Acts displays wide geographic breadth, following the disciples around the Mediterranean from Jerusalem to Rome. It is important to note that in Acts and other collected biographies the narrative follows the characters within the work. This is not the case for many histories, which record the events of a city/nation and are less interested in the individual.¹³⁵ A good example would be Polybius, whose setting in his *History* is not based on individual characters, but on his overall focus of describing Rome's political system. Similarly, Thucydides' focus in his *History* is the war, whose events and battles dictate the setting of the work. Accordingly, the way setting is utilised in Acts, namely that it is associated with specific characters, aligns it with the biography genre and not history. The breadth of setting is akin to novels, histories and biographies, although the location of the narrative in cities is contrary to the rural/pastoral settings in some novels (e.g., *Daphnis and Chloe*).

4.2 *Topoi and Motifs*

Literary *topoi* and motifs are important characteristic features and can be key for identifying specific genres.¹³⁶ Some of these *topoi* are found near the beginning of a work and act as an "initial announcement of the genre of a piece," while others are

¹³⁵ This is also similar to ethnographies and geographic works (e.g., Pausanias).

¹³⁶ Isocrates, *Hel. enc.* 14-15. Cairns (*Generic Composition*, 6) rightly cautions scholars by pointing out that literary *topoi* can move between genres and so cannot be the definitive way to classify genres.

found throughout the work and provide generic consistency.¹³⁷ For example, one of the major motifs that differentiate ancient novels from other genres is a love interest coupled with travel and adventure.¹³⁸ Furthermore, sexual imagery, pastoral themes, and the role of music/pipes are all noted *topoi*.¹³⁹

History works have *topoi* and motifs that are tailored to the subject in focus. Although some histories contain biographical components, such as the recounting of famous people, their function is to discuss a single period or topic with all the corresponding events.¹⁴⁰ As a result, though some of the biographical *topoi* discussed below are often contained in histories, the addition of other *topoi* (such as descriptions of battles, troop deployments, ethnographic depictions) help differentiate these two related genres.

For example, in histories battles are important *topoi* as they are pivotal for demonstrating the character of the nation. In discussing the Lydians in the first book of his *Histories*, Herodotus makes numerous references to wars and battles.¹⁴¹ Polybius' *History* also makes numerous references to war in reference to Rome's ascension.¹⁴² Furthermore, a number of histories are based solely on the description of wars (e.g., Thucydides; Josephus, *War*). This *topos* is notably absent in Acts and a majority of biographies.

In biographical works there are a number of standard *topoi*: birth, nationality, ancestry, education, appearance, career/deeds, literary works, style, character, piety, family, death, tomb, wills, etc. These features provide the broad literary themes that will occur in a biography. Not all biographies will have all themes (e.g., a biography regarding a general will likely lack a discussion of his writing style), but there will be a sufficient number to suggest genre classification.

Within the biography genre, however, there is a distinction between the literary *topoi* of individual and collected biographies.¹⁴³ Though this is not a hard and fast

¹³⁷ Cairns, *Generic Composition*, 25.

¹³⁸ Hägg, "Ancient Greek Novel," 154. E.g., Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesian Tale*; Lollianus, *Phoenician Tale*. For a fuller list, see Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 105-10.

¹³⁹ These are prominent in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*. Sex: 1.13.5; 1.17.1; 1.23.6; 1.32.1; 2.9.1-11.3; 2.38.3; 3.9.5; 3.13.3-14.5; 3.17.1-19.3; 3.24.3; 4.12.1-3; 4.40.2-3; pastoral: 1.3.3; 1.6.3; 4.37.1; 4.39.1; pipes: 1.10.2; 1.13.4; 2.26.3; 2.34.1-3; 3.12.3; 3.15.3; 4.1.2; 4.11.3; 4.15.1-3; 4.40.1.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Aristotle, *Poet.* 23, 1459a20-23.

¹⁴¹ Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.15, 17-19, 25, 26, 71-74, 75-84.

¹⁴² Polybius, *Hist.* 1.65-88; 3.81.10; 10.23.1-8; 10.43-47; 18.28-32; 27.11. Cf. Livy, *Hist.* 31.30.2-3.

¹⁴³ For specific references, see Appendix 1.

distinction, it will become apparent that collected biographies have specific foci that lead to a distinctive selection of *topoi*. In individual biographies there is almost always a discussion of the subject's birth, parents/ancestry, appearance, and city of origin. This is followed by a recounting of the person's deeds and career (sometimes prefaced by specific childhood events), and a full account of his death.

However, for many collected biographies a number of these *topoi* are noticeably absent. For example, in the works of Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus, Eunapius, Nepos, and Jerome there is a distinct lack of references to births. Similarly, childhood events and appearance are also neglected. More importantly, one of the key features of individual biographies, the death of the subject, is also significantly minimised.¹⁴⁴

On the other hand, in Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus, Eunapius, and Jerome there is a distinct focus on the person's education (under whom), style, and teaching. As the subjects of these collected biographies are writers, philosophers, and sophists this is understandable. However, this does not exclude a discussion of their career and deeds, which are also important motifs.

Turning to Acts, a number of *topoi* that are common in individual biographies are also absent. For example, there is no recorded birth narrative for any of the subjects, nor is there any discussion of childhood events or physical appearance.¹⁴⁵ Acts is replete with accounts of deeds with a particular emphasis on teaching and the proclamation of the Christian message. This feature is common to all biographies, although emphasis on adherence to a master's teaching is a notable component of collected philosophical biographies. Finally, there is no major death scene and its consequences to conclude the narrative, which is a major component of individual biographies.¹⁴⁶ This minimising of the death scene is also consistent with a number of collected biographies and will be further discussed in chapter seven.

Despite these absences, Acts (in conjunction with Luke) does exhibit a number of *topoi* found in biographies, particularly those of collected biography. For example,

¹⁴⁴ For a full discussion, see chapter seven, "Ending of Acts".

¹⁴⁵ Burridge's ("Genre of Acts") claim that "the Ascension and Pentecost are like a birth and public debut rolled into one" does comfortably fit the expectations of this motif.

¹⁴⁶ Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 142, 174, 202.

the city of origin is given for a majority of the main/named characters in Acts.¹⁴⁷ Additionally, there is a strong emphasis throughout Luke and Acts on identifying disciples and their relationship(s) with their teacher.¹⁴⁸ (This is further discussed in chapter six.) Furthermore, the whole of Acts is focused on recounting the deeds and sayings of the disciples.¹⁴⁹ This is exemplified by the consistent use of μαθητής throughout Acts, a term in which the master-disciple relationship is embedded.¹⁵⁰ This is one of the most important *topoi* for biography.

Overall, this constellation of literary *topoi*, although not determinative of genre, strongly supports viewing Acts as biography, particularly collected biography. Some of these features will be further discussed in chapters six and seven.

4.3 Style and Register

The study of register and genre has traditionally been combined. In fact, there are a number of scholars who almost view these two terms as synonymous.¹⁵¹ This, however, fails to realize the nuanced nature of register and its function within the development of a discourse. As a result, it is important to differentiate between register and genre, keeping register under the umbrella of context of situation and moving genre to the context of culture.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ Jesus: Bethlehem (Luke 2:4); Nazareth (Luke 2:39; Acts 6:14); From Galilee: Mary and Joseph (Luke 1:26); Levi (Luke 5:27); Disciples (Acts 2:7); John the Baptist: hill country in Judea (Luke 1:39); By Lake Gennesaret: Peter, James, John (Luke 5:1, 10); Barnabas: Cyprus (Acts 4:36); Ananias and Sapphira: presumably around Jerusalem where they had property (Acts 5:1); Nicolaus: Antioch (Acts 6:5); Eunuch: Ethiopia (8:27); Ananias: Damascus (Acts 9:10); Paul: Tarsus (Acts 9:30; 11:25; 21:39; 23:34); Tabitha: Joppa (Acts 9:36); Simon the Tanner: Joppa (Acts 9:43); Cornelius: Caesarea (Acts 10:1); Mary, mother of John-Mark: Jerusalem (Acts 12:12); Simon Niger: Antioch (Acts 13:1); Lucius: Cyrene (Acts 13:1); Timothy: Lystra (Acts 16:1); Lydia: Thyatira (Acts 16:14); Jason: Thessalonica (Acts 17:5); Dionysius: Athens (Acts 17:34); Damaris: Athens (Acts 17:34); Aquila: Pontus (Acts 18:2); Apollos: Alexandria (Acts 18:24); Sopater son of Pyrrhus: Berea (Acts 20:4); Aristarchus and Secundus: Thessalonica (Acts 20:4); Gaius: Derbe (Acts 20:4); Tychicus and Trophimus: Asia (Acts 20:4); Philip: Caesarea (Acts 21:8); Mnason: Cyprus (21:16); Trophimus: Ephesus (Acts 21:29).

¹⁴⁸ E.g., Luke 3:12; 6:40; 7:40; 14:26, 27, 33; 19:39; 20:45 Acts 1:13-14, 21-26; 4:13; 14:21.

¹⁴⁹ This emphasis begins in Acts 1:1, ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν.

¹⁵⁰ E.g., Acts 6:1, 2, 7; 9:1, 10, 19, 25, 26, 36, 38; 11:26, 29; 13:52; 14:20, 21, 22, 28; 15:10; 16:1; 18:23, 27; 19:1, 9, 30; 20:1, 30; 21:4, 16.

¹⁵¹ J.T. Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians: Method and Rhetoric in the Debate over Literary Integrity* (JSNTS 136; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 53-54 citing M.A.K. Halliday and R. Hasan, "Text and Context: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective," *Sophia Linguistica* 6 (1980): 4-90, 78.

¹⁵² Porter also makes this distinction. Stanley E. Porter, "Dialect and Register in the Greek of the New Testament: Theory," in M.D. Carroll R. (ed.), *Rethinking Contexts, Rereading Texts: Contributions*

Register is generally defined as the variation in language that accompanies variation in the context of situation, which is embodied through the selection of language formality, i.e., style.¹⁵³ The determination of style assists in the identification of genre as there is an explicit relationship between style and genre,¹⁵⁴ as well as style and topics.¹⁵⁵

For the ancients, style is typically divided into three broad categories, high, middle, and low (or grand, middle, and plain), although these divisions are not rigid and are subjective.¹⁵⁶ The labelling and distinguishing of styles is complicated and dependent on a large number of components. Furthermore, the comparison of style between genres is problematic as different genres have different preferences and purposes.¹⁵⁷ Individual genres also exhibit a range of styles.¹⁵⁸ Likewise, individual author's styles can differ, not only between works, but also within a work.¹⁵⁹ As a result, claims about an author's style will inevitably be generalisations, taking the trademark features of a work/corpus into account.

Turning now to ancient literature, the genres that typically demand a "high" style are epic, history, philosophical and rhetorical prose, i.e., genres that discuss "big" themes.¹⁶⁰ In the Hellenistic era Homer continues as the pinnacle of epic and Thucydides exhibits the literary prose style to be imitated by later writers.¹⁶¹ Such literary associations are also ascribed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polybius and Herodotus.¹⁶² Tacitus, who was thoroughly trained in rhetoric, provides other

from the Social Sciences to Biblical Interpretation (JSOTS 299; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 190-208, 202.

¹⁵³ Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text*, 38.

¹⁵⁴ For further discussion, see Adams, "Atticism, Classicism and Luke-Acts."

¹⁵⁵ Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1058-59; Ps.-Demetrius, *Eloc.* 120.

¹⁵⁶ Dionysius, *Dem.* 1-3; Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 70-72; J.H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek: Prolegomena* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1906), 26. A full discussion of stylistic components is beyond the scope of this chapter. For further discussion, see J.D. Denniston, *Greek Prose Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952); K. Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

Some ancients had a four-part style division. Philodemus, *Rhet.* 1.165; Ps.-Demetrius, *Eloc.* 36-304: grand, elegant, plain, and forceful.

¹⁵⁷ Dover, *Evolution of Greek Prose Style*, 11; Ogilvie, *Agricolae*, 21; Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius*, 19.

¹⁵⁸ An excellent example is the discussion of style in tragedies, Aristophanes, *Frogs* 905-1481, esp. 939-43.

¹⁵⁹ Dionysius, *Dem.* 5; Dover, *Evolution of Greek Prose Style*, 46-53.

¹⁶⁰ Cicero, *Part. or.* 56; Dionysius, *Thuc.* 51; Longinus, *Subl.* 14.1; Ps.-Demetrius, *Eloc.* 120.

¹⁶¹ Dionysius, *Thuc.* 24-33; Longinus, *Subl.* 14.1; Ps.-Demetrius, *Eloc.* 48; Quintillian, *Inst.* 10.1.73, 101.

¹⁶² Dionysius, *Thuc.* 23; Longinus, *Subl.* 13.3.

examples of “high” literary style by emulating the works of Sallust and Cicero.¹⁶³ His works, both historical and biographical, are characterised by an emphasis on variety, while still maintaining “proper” style.¹⁶⁴ Similarly, tragedy writers, especially Aeschylus, are known to have “grand style”.¹⁶⁵

“Middle” style is typically associated with technical works, although there is still a range within this category.¹⁶⁶ “Plain” style is characterised by poor or inconsistent grammar and syntax as well as familiar and intimate language, typically used between close friends and family. Such examples would include the standard ancient letter.

Individual biographies display a full range of styles.¹⁶⁷ For example, Isocrates and Xenophon both adopt a formal, rhetorical style in the manner of Gorgias. Philostratus’ *Apollonius*, although there are touches of classical sophistication, has a popular style and could be embraced by a wide audience.¹⁶⁸ Ps.-Plutarch, *Vita Homeri* provides a good example of “plain style”. For example, in *Vit. Hom.* 72, Ps.-Plutarch appropriates Homer’s *Iliad* 6.466ff and recasts it in a plainer style, removing the grand stylistic features.

Within collected biographies there is a range of styles. On the high end of the spectrum is Plutarch, whose style is sophisticated and resistant of the burgeoning classical renaissance.¹⁶⁹ Plutarch is characterised by a clear lack of hiatus, though his use of other syntactic elements, as well as his vocabulary, are indicative of high literary Koine.¹⁷⁰ Overall, his statement in *Adol. poet. aud.* 42d, that content is more important than style, is revealing, although Plutarch did achieve “high” style and was praised for it by the ancients.¹⁷¹

In his *Vit. soph.* Philostratus displays a strong interest in style (see Appendix 1). Nevertheless, despite the indications of study (hypercorrection and pedantic

¹⁶³ Ogilvie, *Agricolae*, 21-22.

¹⁶⁴ Ogilvie, *Agricolae*, 30.

¹⁶⁵ N. O’Sullivan, *Alcidamas, Aristophanes, and the Beginnings of Greek Stylistic Theory* (HE 60; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), 106-29.

¹⁶⁶ For textual examples, see Alexander, *Preface*, 91-94.

¹⁶⁷ Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 142-43, 175-76.

¹⁶⁸ Anderson, *Philostratus*, 121.

¹⁶⁹ T.F. Carney, “Plutarch’s Style in the *Marius*,” *JHS* 80 (1960): 24-31; J.R. Hamilton, *Alexander: A Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), lxvi.

¹⁷⁰ Hamilton, *Alexander*, lxvii; Shipley, *Agésilaios*, 3.

¹⁷¹ Eunapius, *Vit. phil.* 454.

idiosyncrasy), Philostratus does not live up to his desired “Attic purity”.¹⁷² Despite this, Philostratus’ *Lives* are lucid with a notable focus on variety.¹⁷³ Eunapius *Vit. phil.* 454 describes Philostratus’ style by calling it ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς μετὰ χάριτος παρέπτυσε. Eunapius, although akin to Philostratus in subject, does not have as elegant a style, and is difficult, obscure, and does not meet “Attic” standards.¹⁷⁴

Suetonius’ style is straightforward, simple yet precise, containing a wide variety of technical vocabulary. Avoiding rhetorical devices, his writing is unadorned, but technically accurate,¹⁷⁵ although certain features, such as the inclusion of Greek terms, were considered poor form for high Latin literature.¹⁷⁶ On the low end of the spectrum is Nepos, who writes in short, simple sentences with limited vocabulary and has been heavily criticised by some modern scholars.¹⁷⁷ These brief examples indicate that there was a wide range of styles in collected biographies from highly polished (Plutarch) to limitedly basic (Nepos).

Turning to Acts, Wifstrand makes an important statement regarding the nature of the linguistic milieu of the first century AD. He states that,

[Luke’s] language is unquestionably much closer to Attic than is that of the Gospel of Mark. This is due, however, not to his being an Atticist or a classicist but to his representing a cultivated written style, in contrast to Mark who is more representative of the popular everyday language. Furthermore, the educated written language he adopted is one which has been untouched by classicism and was a direct continuation of that standard Hellenistic prose which itself was of a significantly more “Attic” character than everyday spoken Hellenistic Greek.¹⁷⁸

This understanding separates Luke from the traditional spectrum of Attic/non-Attic and provides a more nuanced understanding of Greek literary prose in the first century.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷² Anderson, *Philostratus*, 21 nn. 102, 103 for references.

¹⁷³ Anderson, *Philostratus*, 14-17. E.g., *Vit. soph.* 544, 545, 566, 581.

¹⁷⁴ Cox Miller “Strategies of Representation,” 247; Wright, *Eunapius*, 323.

¹⁷⁵ Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius*, 19.

¹⁷⁶ E.g., *Tib.* 71; *Gramm.* 22. Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius*, 20.

¹⁷⁷ Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos*, xviii-xix.

¹⁷⁸ Wifstrand, “Luke and Greek Classicism,” 19.

¹⁷⁹ This is contrary to the idea presented in some commentaries that Luke had to attempt to find a middle path between the vernacular, or spoken language of the day, and the artificial Greek movement of the second century AD. E.g., Bovon, *Luke*, 4.

Building on the concept developed by Wifstrand and continued by Rydbeck that Luke was making use of the “standard Hellenistic prose” of his day,¹⁸⁰ Alexander supports the conclusion that the Hellenistic prose style utilized by Luke was once the literary standard, but was coming under pressure by the classicizing movement and was being forced into a less prestigious position.¹⁸¹ This suggests that the style of Acts follows the standard middle style witnessed in collected biographies, not overly sophisticated (although there are sections, Luke 1:1-4; Acts 17), but not lacking literary sense.

4.4 *Atmosphere*

The atmosphere of a work is comprised of tone, mood, attitude, and values. Although a description of these components can be subjective, the overall impression given by them facilitates genre delineation.¹⁸² In his work on the Gospels, Burridge has indicated that both the gospels and ancient biographies tend to be respectful and serious, particularly in their presentation of their subject.¹⁸³ This, however, is not without some exceptions (Satyrus, *Euripides*; Lucian, *Demonax*).¹⁸⁴

Collected biographies also create a serious and respectful atmosphere. There are no examples of satirical character representations and few cases of witty banter.¹⁸⁵ Rather, the attitude towards the characters and subject matter is reverential, holding them in high regard.¹⁸⁶ This is readily apparent in works titled *Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν* or *De Viris Illustribus*, whose subjects must meet a certain criterion for inclusion. In a similar vein, Eunapius claims to limit his work to noteworthy men as it is not designed to be a satire.¹⁸⁷

Acts too exhibits this respectful atmosphere, presenting the disciples as model followers of Jesus. Jocular scenes and tawdry episodes are minimal and erotic

¹⁸⁰ For Wifstrand's ideas see above, Rydbeck, “Linguistic Levels,” 201-202.

¹⁸¹ Alexander, “*Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio*,” 240.

¹⁸² Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 119.

¹⁸³ Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 143-44, 176-77.

¹⁸⁴ See the reference to Lucian's *Demonax* by Eunapius, *Vit. phil.* 454.

¹⁸⁵ Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 578, 599.

¹⁸⁶ Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 511, 605, 620.

¹⁸⁷ Eunapius, *Vit. phil.* 494, μνήμη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν, οὐ χλεθασμός, ἡ γραφή.

themes are excluded.¹⁸⁸ Quite the opposite, the narrative of Acts is full of life-and-death situations in which key characters are persecuted, tortured, and killed. For example, Christians throughout Acts recognise that they face real danger from the Jews and other opponents. Peter and John are put in prison (4:3), Stephen is stoned to death (7:58), Saul arrests Christians and puts them in prison (8:3), James is executed by Herod (12:2), Paul and Barnabas are persecuted (13:50) and plotted against (14:5), and Paul is the subject of many plots (21:30; 23:12-15). The fact that many of these characters are saved by supernatural intervention does not undermine the severity of the experiences. Rather, it shows the extreme difficulty that the characters are in as only God can save them from their predicament.

Furthermore, there is great reverence given to the topic. This is illustrated by the story of Ananias and Sapphira, whose deceitful practice was punished by death (Acts 5:1-10). The values espoused in the text are also of high importance to the author and are treated sympathetically and approvingly. This respectful atmosphere fits within the narrow atmospheric range of collected biographies, as well as to the broader spectrum of individual biographies.

4.5 *Quality of Characterisation*

The quality of characterisation is one way in which collected biographies differentiate themselves from other genres, particularly individual biographies. The evaluation of quality differs from characterisation methods in that methods are an external feature, whereas quality seeks to determine the picture that emerges within the work itself. Different genres have different expectations of characterisation and so this feature can be classified as genre-related.¹⁸⁹

In individual biographies the presentation of a character is dependent on the type of biography chosen. For example, Isocrates' *Evagoras*, as an encomium, is monotonic in praising him, forcing a stereotypic representation.¹⁹⁰ Such a stereotype is also found in Tacitus' *Agricola*, whose presentation of Agricola as the model

¹⁸⁸ Pervo (*Profit with Delight*, 61-66) identifies instances in Acts that contain humour, etc. Two examples would be Peter left at the door in Acts 12:14 and Eutychus who fell asleep during Paul's lengthy sermon (Acts 20:7-12).

¹⁸⁹ For discussion, see C.B.R. Pelling (ed.), *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), vi-vii; C. Gill, "The Question of Character Development: Plutarch and Tacitus," *CQ* 33 (1983): 469-87.

¹⁹⁰ Isocrates, *Bus.* 4

soldier and Domitian as the jealous Caesar forms a clear picture.¹⁹¹ Likewise, Iamblichus' *Pythagoras* portrays a philosopher who does not deviate from his beliefs and is steadfast in all his actions (186).

Lucian's biographic works have also been accused of typecasting in that he uses comments by characters (or by Lucian as the narrator) to chastise the actions and motivations of the main protagonist, or to provide a model for emulation. For example, in both *Alexander* and *Peregrinus* Lucian creates a picture of two "philosophers" who are not interested in the acquisition or advancement of truth, but rather are seekers of vainglory and make use of deceit in pursuit of such ends. These two are mercilessly ridiculed by Lucian in the first person throughout the work. In contrast, *Nigrinus* and *Demonax* speak out against ostentatious wealth (*Nigr.* 13-14) and pride, and provide models for later youth to follow (*Demon.* 2).¹⁹²

Stereotyping, however, can also be found in collected biographies. For example, Nepos' *Atticus* portrays a person who is upstanding in all aspects of life (13) and shows incredible willpower, even in death (21-22). Plutarch, in his *Lives*, though still attempting to model moral excellence to his readers (*Demetrius* and *Antony* excluded) is not monolithic in his presentation. Rather, Plutarch's characterisation appears to be somewhat flexible, allowing for the possibility of personality development.¹⁹³

Conversely, quality of characterisation is lacking in the collected biographies of Diogenes Laertius, Jerome, Philostratus, and Eunapius. In these collected biographies there appears to be a general lack of concern for developing the character of all subjects equally. Rather, there appears to be a focus on only a small number of subjects. Furthermore, the subjects not in focus are treated very superficially, with little quality of characterisation.

Take Diogenes' *Lives* as an illustration. Despite the amount of narrative given to a particular philosopher there is no change in the depth of characterisation. This is because Diogenes was not interested in developing the character of his subjects (or his readers), but rather tracing the lineage and teachings of different schools.

¹⁹¹ Ogilvie, *Agricolae*, 20.

¹⁹² Clay, "Lucian of Samosata," 3409-10.

¹⁹³ E.g., *Arat.* 51.4, 54.2; *Sert.* 10.2-5. See also A.J. Gossage, "Plutarch," in T.A. Dorey (ed.), *Latin Biography* (London: Routledge, 1967), 45-78, 66; Gill, "The Question of Character-Development," 472.

Similarly, Philostratus, Eunapius, and Jerome are not interested in their subjects' characters, but rather in their places among good sophists, philosophers, or Christian writers.

Acts has a similar level of characterisation. Peter and Paul (who have a majority of the Acts narrative, as noted above) are relatively static characters. Although there is substantial development in Peter's character between Luke's Gospel and Acts, the same is not true within Acts. Peter's personality does not change; rather, his character functions as the primary spokesperson for the church (2:14-39; 3:11-26; 4:8-12), the lead disciple of Jesus for the first half of Acts (1:15-22; 5:29-32), a miracle worker (3:1-10; 9:32-43), and the key holder for access into the in-group (5:1-10; 8:14-25; 10:1-11:18).

Paul, on the other hand, has a dramatic conversion taking him from being an outsider (8:1) to an insider (9:1-19). Nevertheless, despite this transfer, Paul's personality and character change very little. Both before and after his conversion, Paul is bold (9:28; 13:46; 14:3; 28:31), zealous for his religion (8:1-3; 9:1-2; 22:3), familiar with prisons (8:3; 16:23-40; 20:23; 22:4, etc.), and travels to different cities (9:2; 13:3-4, 13; 15:41). The minor characters in Acts exhibit no change at all and are labelled by the standard description as being "full of the Holy Spirit"¹⁹⁴ and "speaking boldly".¹⁹⁵

This lack of interest in character development, paired with a focus on teaching, conversion, and preaching, is in line with other collected biographies that trace philosophical succession or members of a profession. This indicates that the focus and purpose of Acts is not primarily the development of character (although Paul and others do act as models to be emulated), but on the message that the characters espouse and their embodiment of that message.

4.6 *Social Setting and Presumed Audience*

In addition to the above features, the social setting and the presumed audience of a work provide insight into the intended purpose (discussed below, 4.7). Style and register (discussed above, 4.3) suggest that Acts, written in standard Hellenistic prose, was not tailored exclusively for the literary elite. Rather its register (see above)

¹⁹⁴ Luke 1:15, 41, 67; 4:1; Acts 2:4; 4:31; 6:3, 5; 7:55; 9:17; 11:24; 13:9. Johnson, *Acts*, 77.

¹⁹⁵ Acts 2:29; 4:13, 29, 31; 9:27-28; 13:46; 14:3; 18:26; 28:31.

indicates the author's desire for wide accessibility, which parallels the language use in individual and collected biographies.

Some texts and genres are a response to a specific occasion (e.g., funeral orations), whereas the impetus for the creation of other texts is not always identifiable. Although not exclusively so, some individual biographies have a specific social setting for the composition of the work, especially eulogy or encomium (*Evagoras*, *Agesilaus*). On the other side of the individual biography spectrum, Philo's *Moses* does not appear to have a particular occasion, but is intended to dispel general ignorance of Moses (1.1-4).

In general, collected biographies are not written in response to a particular occasion. No social setting or event is given as the impetus for writing by Diogenes, Eunapius, or Philostratus. Rather, these biographers explicitly claim that their desire is to provide knowledge for their readers.

Similarly, there is no explicit social setting for Acts, although some have suggested, that Acts is Paul's brief for his trial, an address regarding the debates surrounding the new religion, or a recollection of the controversy of Paul's mission to the gentiles.¹⁹⁶ These theories, though drawing from the contents of Acts, are speculative and generally do not adequately account for all the narrative components, especially Acts' focus on other characters.

Despite the fact that both collected biographies and Acts lack a specific identifiable social setting, it is possible to identify the presumed/intended audience of the texts, at least whether the work was written for insiders (those who adhere to the values held and expressed by the author) or outsiders (those who do not). It is clear that collected biographies can be written for those within or outside the perspective of the author who compiled it.¹⁹⁷ However, a majority of collected biographies are written for insiders, or at least those who are sympathetic to the perspective of the author.

The notable contrary example is Jerome's *Lives*. Although Jerome states that his *Lives* was written due to the encouragement of Dexter (apparently a fellow-member of the Christian faith), at the end of his preface Jerome explicitly directs his work to outsiders (Celsus, Porphyry, Julian) that they might learn that the Christian faith was

¹⁹⁶ For an overview, see Maddox, *Purpose of Luke-Acts*, 20-23; Verheyden, "Unity of Luke-Acts," 7-8.

¹⁹⁷ Burridge, "About People," 132-33.

not without men of learning (*qui putant Ecclesiam nullos philosophos et eloquentes, nullos habuisse doctores, praef.*).

Diogenes Laertius' *Lives* provides an account of individuals in a school's succession and briefly discusses philosophical systems.¹⁹⁸ The diversity of philosophical systems discussed (all positively) indicates that Diogenes was not writing partisanly, but provides an even-handed discussion of many philosophical schools. Furthermore, Diogenes' statement on Epicurus in 10.28-29 that "you may be in a position to study the philosopher on all sides and know how to judge him," can be extrapolated to the work as a whole. The intended audience members of Diogenes' *Lives* are generally interested in philosophical schools, and may even be adherents.

On the other hand, Philostratus and Eunapius both wrote to insiders, people who were educated and knowledgeable about sophists and philosophers. This did not exclude outsiders from readings these works, but rather the perspectives espoused and the specific discussions of style advocate for a trained sophist as the ideal/intended reader. For example, Eunapius' introduction to his subject in his preface assumes the reader has prior knowledge of philosophers and sophists (454-55). Philostratus' work is specifically addressed to a family that is connected with the sophistic profession (479-80). Similarly, Plutarch's *Lives* were likely intended for a minority of people, possibly elite, who shared his philosophical perspective.¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, they are considered to be educated and insiders of Greek culture.²⁰⁰

It appears that Acts was written for insiders. Although we do not know who the addressee, Theophilus (Luke 1:3; Acts 1:1), is, it can be deduced from Luke 1:4 that he has previously received some teaching in the Christian faith. Furthermore, the content of Acts lends support for an insider audience.²⁰¹ Although this will be further discussed in chapters six and seven, it is illustrated by the assumed knowledge of characters (i.e., James, 12:17), the assumption that the reader will adopt the we/them attitude in Christian/pagan interaction, and the prefaces (Luke

¹⁹⁸ Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 2.

¹⁹⁹ A. Wardman, *Plutarch's Lives* (London: Elek, 1974), 37-48. This is supported by the references to Sosius Senecio: *Aem.* 1.6; *Ag. Cleom.* 2.9; *Dem.* 1.1; 31.7; *Dion* 1.1; *Thes.* 1.1.

²⁰⁰ For examples, see Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 302.

²⁰¹ Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, 30. Although it should be noted that it is clear that Acts is not *exclusively* for insiders and that Luke does appear to keep outsiders in mind. Pervo, *Acts*, 21; Maddox, *Purpose*, 12-15.

1:1-4; Acts 1:1). At this point it is enough to say that, lacking an explicit social setting and directing the work towards insiders, Acts shows similarities to collected biographies specifically, but also individual biographies and histories generally.

4.7 *Authorial Intention*

As discussed in chapter one, the purpose and authorial intention of a work are particularly important for identifying genre. The intention of a work leads to the selection of a genre which is enacted through specific formal (structural and content) features and forms a contract between author and reader.²⁰² At times this intention is explicitly recounted in the preface, although an investigation of the text is nonetheless needed to verify the author's claim. It is important to note that an author might have a number of different purposes for a text. However, we expect that similar genres will have similar goals that lead authors to select that genre.

The primary function of the ancient novel is to provide entertainment for the reader.²⁰³ For example, the preface of Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* claims that the work is intended to be, "a possession to delight all mankind" (κτῆμα δὲ τερπὸν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, *praef.* 3). In this genre, the author creates a series of events that will form a pleasing story for the reader. This fictionally-constructed narrative, however, can also be ideologically driven and used to enact change in the reader.²⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the sensationalistic events and erotic content clearly indicate a desire to amuse and entertain.

Works of history typically record important events for educational purposes. For example, Polybius' *History* is an attempt to awaken his countrymen to the significance of Rome and explain Roman political practices: "For who is so worthless or indolent as not to wish to know by what means and under what system of polity the Romans in less than fifty-three years have succeeded in subjecting nearly the whole inhabited world to their sole government—a thing unique in history" (1.1.5).²⁰⁵ Diodorus Siculus (1.1.1–1.2.8) is a further example as he

²⁰² The aims and purposes of the author are integral to the shaping and publication of the material. Swain, "Biography," 2.

²⁰³ B.P. Reardon, *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (London: University of California Press, 1989), 11.

²⁰⁴ Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 104-105.

²⁰⁵ Τίς γάρ οὕτως ὑπάρχει φαῦλος ἢ ῥάθυμος ἀνθρώπων ὃς οὐκ ἂν βούλοιτο γινῶναι πῶς καὶ τίνι γένοι πολιτείας ἐπικρατηθέντα σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν οὐκ ὅλοις πεντήκοντα καὶ τρισὶν

compares the usefulness of history against other subjects. Thucydides also expresses, “It will be enough for me, however, if these words of mine are judged useful by those who want to understand clearly the events which happened in the past” (ποτέ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνυρώπινον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν, 1.22). Herodotus states that one of his goals in his work was to point out “who in actual fact first injured the Greeks” (τὸν δὲ οἶδα οὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, 1.5).²⁰⁶

As outlined by Burridge, there are a number of purported purposes for biographies. These include encomiastic, exemplary, informative, entertainment, preservation of memory, didactic, and apologetic.²⁰⁷ For example, Tacitus’ *Agricola* is an encomium that praises his father-in-law and provides a record of his life and achievements.²⁰⁸ Isocrates describes his *Evagoras* as both an encomium (ἐγκωμιάζειν, 8) and a eulogy (εὐλογεῖν, 11).

Collected biographies have similar functions, although there is greater emphasis on the exemplary and informative purposes. It is through programmatic statements such as *Aemilius* 1.1-4 that the main purposes and goals of Plutarch’s writings are elucidated. Here Plutarch expresses the notion that spending time admiring the virtuous actions of others develops a longing for virtue within oneself.²⁰⁹ There is nothing more effective for the improvement of character (*Aem.* 1.4, πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἡθῶν). Accordingly, the pairing of Aemilius and Timoleon provides the “best of examples” (τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν παραδειγμάτων) for the modeling of virtue. As a result, Plutarch in his *Lives* invites readers to model their life directly on the lives of his virtuous men.²¹⁰

Philostratus was particularly interested in answering criticisms against being a sophist.²¹¹ Philostratus’ *Lives* are also full of scandalous events and stories that often

ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἔπεσε τὴν Ῥωμαίων, ὃ πρότερον οὐχ εὐρίσκεται γεγονός. See also Walbank, *Polybius*, 21.

²⁰⁶ Herodotus also attempts to show “the reason why they warred against each other” (καὶ δι’ ἣν αἰτίνην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι, 1.1).

²⁰⁷ Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 145-47, 180-83.

²⁰⁸ Ogilvie, *Agricolae*, 11-14.

²⁰⁹ In evaluating biography proems Stadter expresses that there is a “radical difference” in proem themes of individual and collected biographies. Stadter, “Proems of Plutarch’s *Lives*,” 283.

²¹⁰ Duff, *Plutarch’s Lives*, 33. Cf. Plutarch, *Alex.* 1.2, δῆλως ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας.

²¹¹ Anderson, *Philostratus*, 25.

have little to do with the overall presentation of a sophist's character.²¹² It appears that these stories are provided to entertain the reader, rather than to promote a particular lifestyle or to elicit positive change within the reader. On the other hand, Eunapius' work parallels those of Nepos and Jerome in that it focuses on the main achievements of distinguished men (not their casual doings) for the purpose of *paideia*.²¹³

An explicit purpose statement is missing from the prologue of Diogenes' work; however, there are a few passages that provide insight into his motivation for writing and suggest that Diogenes was particularly interested in the individuals and the schools' successions rather than in the philosophical systems.²¹⁴ For example, in his discussion of Plato (3.47), Diogenes states that he felt it necessary to include a treatment of Plato's dialogues, "in order that the facts I have collected respecting his life may not suffer by the omission of his doctrines." Similarly, there is a focus on the person of Epicurus in 10.28-29 that frames the discussion of his works and philosophical system in order that "you may be in a position to study the philosopher on all sides and know how to judge him."²¹⁵ Other times in his narrative, Diogenes, when completing his discussion of a person, frames his remarks not in terms of the person's belief or teachings, but in terms of the person's character.²¹⁶

There have been a number of proposals for the purpose of Acts. Pervo posits that Acts is a work intended for legitimising the Christian faith through narrative entertainment.²¹⁷ Johnson claims that Luke's purpose in Acts is "to defend God's activity in the world."²¹⁸ Squires advocates that Acts is a "cultural translation", an apologetic to explain Christianity to Hellenised Christians.²¹⁹ These positions rightly identify aspects of Acts, although they miss Luke's explicit emphasis on education.²²⁰ Luke's programmatic statements in Luke 1:1-4 and Acts 1:1 indicate that the intended purpose of (Luke-)Acts is both informative and conformational,

²¹² Some of the more sensational examples would be, Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 516-17, 610.

²¹³ Eunapius, *Vit. phil.* 453; Jerome, *Vit. ill. praef.*; Cox Miller "Strategies of Representation," 235-37.

²¹⁴ Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 2.

²¹⁵ Other examples include: Diogenes, 4.1; 5.21; 8.1.

²¹⁶ E.g., Thales 1.21; Socrates' disciples 2.47; Aristippus 2.85; Pythagoras 8.50; Timon 9.115; and Epicurus 10.138.

²¹⁷ Pervo, *Acts*, 21.

²¹⁸ Johnson, *Acts*, 7.

²¹⁹ Squires, *Plan of God*, 191.

²²⁰ So Parsons (*Acts*, 20), although with a focus on rhetoric.

“that you may know the certainty of the things you have been taught” (ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, 1:4).²²¹ This is echoed in Acts’ preface and further indicated by the content of Acts (e.g., 2:36). This is not to say that Luke did not have an eye towards making Acts entertaining or a pleasure to read. Rather, Luke teaches the reader *through* the use of characters. The focus on the disciples and their teachings and deeds shows a particular emphasis on delineating the members of the Christian community in comparison to outsiders (e.g., Judas, 1:16-17; Ananias and Sapphira, 5:1-10; Simon Magus, 8:4-24; and the sons of Sceva, 19:13-16). Through this delineation Luke also educates his readers theologically and facilitates their growth as Christians. As a result, though the primary purpose of Acts is to educate and confirm the readers in their faith, it is accomplished through a concise demarcation of Jesus’ followers. It is through their teaching that the reader is informed. This will be further discussed in chapters six and seven.

The focus on a delineation of disciples in order to educate the reader of a school’s belief parallels the purpose of Diogenes Laertius and is well within the range of purposes of collected biographies.

4.8 Summary

This investigation of internal features further supports the trends identified in the external features section. Once again, Acts shows some similarities to ancient novels in its use of setting, style/register, and quality of characterisation. However, there are some notable differences. First, many of the standard *topoi* employed in novels are lacking in Acts (e.g., erotic romances, pirates, pastoral settings, and innocence). Second, the atmosphere of ancient novels is predominantly light and humorous, whereas this is not the prevailing atmosphere of Acts. Third, Acts is primarily directed to insiders, people who share a common belief or perspective. Novels, on the other hand, do not narrow their intended audience in such a manner. As a result, the internal features resist Acts’ being labelled a novel.

Second, Acts has a number of features in common with history, for example, in the categories of atmosphere, and authorial intent. Regarding the setting, style/register, audience, and purpose of Acts, there are some similarities, although

²²¹ Cf. Jerome, *Vit. praef.*, “systematic account” (*ordinem digeram*).

Acts would be at the farther end of the spectrum. However, the literary *topoi* found in Acts (e.g., focus on an individual's nationality, career/deeds, character, piety, relationship to master) do not bear strong resemblance to histories (e.g., war, battles, national identity, depictions of cities, political policy).

Finally, Acts continues to show strong affiliation with individual and collected biographies. Regarding individual biographies, Acts fits comfortably in the categories of setting, style/register, atmosphere, and audience. Furthermore Acts parallels some biographies by having a lack of explicit social setting, and minimal quality of characterisation. Acts also has a number of biographical *topoi* (e.g., nationality, education, career/deeds, character, piety, etc.), although there are some standard ones that are notably missing or minimised, e.g., birth, childhood events, appearance, death.

Acts' association with collected biographies is even stronger with matches in all but one category. The notable exception is setting. In most collected biographies there is a notable lack of setting, even though the various biographies place people and events in the Mediterranean. Acts, on the other hand, has a very strong expression of setting that is connected with the larger narrative arc. Overall, however, from the perspective of internal features, biography in general and collected biographies specifically have the most generic affinities with Acts.

5. Conclusion

Having completed the above investigation of opening components, subject, internal and external features, we are now in a position to interpret the findings. First, it is apparent that Acts is not an epic. There are very few formal features that support this claim. Conversely, categories such as size, metre, scope, opening features, all point away from this conclusion.

Second, there appears to be some generic relationship between Acts and ancient novels. The above study indicates that Acts and novels share certain formal features, notably size, metre, methods of characterisation, setting, style/register, and quality of characterisation. Nevertheless, there are also a number of areas in which Acts and novels differ: opening features, mode of representation, use of sources, *topoi*,

structure, atmosphere, and intended audience. This divergence undermines confidence in the view of Pervo and others that novel is the best generic fit for Acts.

Third, based on the discussion above it is clear that the structural and content components of Acts bear close generic relationship to history-biography prose. However, some of the features discussed above suggest that Acts might be most related to collected biographies. History and biography both have the following features in common with Acts: opening features, mode of representation, metre, scope, sources, methods of characterisation, setting, style/register, audience, and purpose. Overall, however, Acts does differ notably from history in that it is of medium size, whereas histories are typically large. Further, the structure of Acts, whose organising principle is based on the presentation of characters, is particular to collected biographies. Likewise the literary *topoi* found in Acts (e.g., focus on an individual's nationality, career/deeds, character, piety, relationship to master) do not bear strong resemblance to histories. These differences weaken the claim that Acts is a history.

Acts has the greatest number of genre similarities with biography: opening features, subject, setting, style/register, atmosphere, audience, a lack of explicit social setting, and minimal quality of characterisation. There are, however, certain features that Acts shares with collected biographies that are not part of the standard individual biography. First, though it is biographically focused, Acts does not have only one protagonist, but presents numerous subjects who adhere to the Christian faith. This is a notable genre feature that differentiates Acts from other ancient genres, particularly those of novel, epic and individual biographies. Second, the specific *topoi* utilised in Acts (esp. succession, teacher/student relationship, words/deeds, etc.) are closest to those used by philosophical collected biographies. Third, the organising principle of Acts is grounded on the identification of disciples who are part of the Jesus movement. This way of organising a work is particular to collected biographies.

Nevertheless, Acts' affiliation with collected biographies is not perfect. The geographic setting of Acts is explicit and is an important component of the work. This is not a prominent feature, and is often lacking, in collected biographies. Furthermore, Acts' mode of representation is expressed through a continuous prose

narrative. Though narrative is present in collected biographies, it is typically divided into smaller segments focusing on specific individuals. This segmentation is minimised in Acts with a concerted effort to place all the subjects in a large narrative whole. These two features, however, are found in individual biographies and histories. As seen above and from chapter four, history and biography are highly related genres with a number of overlapping genre features. Furthermore, in light of genre evolution theory, outlined in chapter three, highly related genres are prone to blending, although often with the “inferior” genre adopting characteristics from the dominant genre. That explicit geographic setting and continuous prose narrative are exhibited in individual biographies and histories is coherent with this theory and suggests genre adaptation by Luke.

Overall, this chapter affirms that the best genre label for Acts is collected biography as it has the greatest number of similar genre features, including those that are most determinative for genre selection. Furthermore, Acts appears to have incorporated some features from individual biographies and histories, most notably extended narrative. Building from this perspective, the next two chapters will further investigate the Acts narrative for additional parallels and determine the interpretive payoff of understanding Acts in light of the collected biography tradition.

CHAPTER 6: CHARACTERISATION IN ACTS

In the previous chapter we looked at the formal features of collected biographies and Acts. In doing so, we determined that Acts has significant generic similarities to both individual biography and history, although Acts is most closely associated with collected biographies. That history is generically related to biography is supported by our investigation in chapter four in which it was determined that biography was susceptible to the influence of history throughout the Hellenistic and Roman eras. Furthermore, biography as a genre was flexible and was easily adapted by Luke's contemporary authors to meet their literary needs.

In this chapter and the following one we will continue to develop genre parallels between Acts and collected biographies and evaluate the narrative of Acts to determine the interpretive payoff of understanding Acts in light of the collected biography tradition.¹ Beginning with the preface of Acts, this chapter will advance through the narrative and evaluate the representation of characters, primarily Christian followers, and how Luke portrays them in relation to the larger movement. Chapter seven will give particular attention to Peter and Paul due to the large amount of narrative dedicated to them. Finally, we will consider the apparently enigmatic ending of Acts and argue that Luke's omission of Paul's trial and death was intentional and well within the literary tradition of collected biography.

Although these chapters approach the text of Acts from the collected biography perspective, I wish to state at the outset that the interpretive proposals advanced here are not to the exclusion of other exegetical theories. Luke, as a skilled writer, was able to embed multiple layers of meaning within the text. Consequently, although I emphasise a particular interpretation based on connections with collected biographies, I also acknowledge that these parallels do not eliminate other proposed influences. Rather, my approach serves to emphasise one aspect of Luke's work, namely, the delineation and framing of characters and their relationship and function within the fledgling Christian movement.

¹ *Contra* Talbert (*Literary Patterns*, 130) who identifies Luke-Acts as related to individual biographies.

Though I will use the terminology of “succession” in relation to the disciples in Luke-Acts, the full lexical baggage of this term overstates the role and function of these characters as there is no implication in Acts of a linear succession of office.² Rather, I use the term “successor” and “succession” in light of the disciples’ continuation of Jesus’ ministry, both teaching and healing. This is in keeping with the collected biography tradition of philosophers and rhetoricians, for which succession does not necessarily imply a strictly linear or serial sequence with no overlap of disciples. Rather, these traditions identify those who are faithful to the tradition of the founder and reliably pass on his teachings.

A term to describe the disciples/apostles found throughout Acts is “witness” (μάρτυς),³ a term which is important for the advancement and cohesion of the narrative, particularly in light of Jesus’ statements in Luke 24:48 and Acts 1:8.⁴ In addition to Acts, μαρτυρέω and its cognates were utilised by philosophical schools, particularly by Epictetus and the Stoic philosophers.⁵ Luke also makes use of μαθητής to identify characters within the Christian movement, a term that also strong connections with philosophical schools.⁶ It is clear, however, that Luke was not importing the entire semantic baggage of these terms. Reflecting on Luke’s usage, I will use the terms “disciple,” “witness,” and “follower,” interchangeably while acknowledging that these terms had different semantic ranges in Luke, Acts, and ancient biographies.⁷

The Opening of Acts

The preface of Acts is typically evaluated in terms of its ability to link Luke and Acts together through semantic and literary parallels, and its relationship to the literary

² H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of Saint Luke* (trans. G. Buswell; London: Faber and Faber, 1961), 218. This is in contrast to Talbert (*Literary Patterns*, 128), who speaks in terms of “chains of succession”.

³ Acts 1:8, 22; 2:32; 3:15; 5:32; 10:39; 13:31; 22:20; 26:16 (Luke 21:13?; 24:48).

⁴ Examples of the μαρτυρέω root paired with one or more disciples in Acts include 4:33; 6:3, 13; 7:44, 58; 10:22, 43; 13:22; 14:3; 20:26; 22:5, 12, 18; 23:11; 26:5, 22.

⁵ For examples, see H. Strathmann, “μάρτυς,” *TDNT* (1967), 4.474-508, esp. 479-81.

⁶ For a discussion of the different philosophical schools and their use of the term μαθητής, see K.H. Rengstorf, “μαθητής,” *TDNT* (1967), 4.415-60, esp. 416-26.

⁷ I am not, however, suggesting that Luke entirely adopted philosophical tradition in these terms as it is clear that the term μάρτυς is an important term in the LXX.

conventions of the Greco-Roman period.⁸ One challenge presented by Acts' preface is defining its boundaries, with suggestions anywhere between one and fourteen verses.⁹ Although this is important for understanding literary divisions, the focus of this study is not on the delineation of the preface. In this section, I will interpret Acts' opening in terms of its function in the larger narrative, that is, how it prepares the reader for the larger Acts narrative and its characterisation of Jesus and the disciples. Of particular interest will be how Luke shapes the relationship between Jesus and his disciples in light of collected biography tradition; specifically, Luke shows that the disciples will be the focus of the larger narrative and that their actions and teaching are a continuation of Jesus' ministry.

One of the main functions of the preface in Acts, and of prefaces that open subsequent books and connect a volume to a prior work, is to provide a brief recapitulation and refresher of aspects of the previous text.¹⁰ Alexander, in her study of Acts' preface, suggests that this recapitulation is absent from classical history works, present but not prominent in Hellenistic histories, and is most consistent in "scientific" treatises.¹¹ Though Acts' preface does not secure the literary unity of Luke and Acts,¹² the topics and material introduced in the opening of Acts point the reader back to Luke's gospel (τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον) and expect the reader of Acts to proceed from that point.¹³

The preface of Acts begins by orienting the reader to the character of Jesus and the general content of Luke. I agree with Pervo's statement, "The verbs 'did and taught' go a fair way toward defining Luke as a biography."¹⁴ The catenative construction, ὃν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν (1:1), further suggests that Acts is a continuation of Jesus' actions contained in Luke. In the first volume, Luke

⁸ For an example, see Alexander, *Preface*, 142-46.

⁹ Alexander (*Preface*, 142-46) restricts the preface to 1:1; Fitzmyer (*Acts*, 191) 1:2; Marshall (*Acts*, 55) and Pervo (*Acts*, 32) propose that it concludes at 1:5 with the introduction of new material; Haenchen (*Acts*, 136-37) posits 1:8; L.T. Johnson (*The Acts of the Apostles* [SP 5; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992], 28) 1:11; and Barrett (*Acts*, 1.61) suggests 1:14, although both he and Johnson create internal subdivisions.

¹⁰ Alexander, *Preface*, 143; Pervo, *Acts*, 33.

¹¹ Alexander, *Preface*, 143. Alexander provides examples of recapitulation in "scientific" works on pp. 143-44. Cf. Philo, *Mos.* 2.1.

¹² Alexander, *Preface*, 146; Pervo, *Acts*, 33.

¹³ I agree with Pervo and Barrett that λόγος in 1:1 does not provide any insight into genre or content. Pervo, *Acts*, 35; Barrett, *Acts*, 1.64.

¹⁴ Pervo, *Acts*, 36. Cf. Plutarch, *Galb.* 2.5; *Pomp.* 8.7; Diogenes, 2.37.

portrays what Jesus began to do and to teach, whereas the second volume, Acts, marks a continuation of Jesus' deeds and teachings.¹⁵

Though not the main character, Jesus appears throughout the Acts narrative. Beginning with the opening scene in which he is taken up to heaven, Jesus also appears in Stephen's vision ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐστῶτα τοῦ θεοῦ (7:56), as a disembodied voice speaking to Saul from heaven (10:13), and as encouraging Paul in his dreams (18:9; 23:11). Luke states, moreover, that the ὁ κύριος διήνοιξεν τὴν καρδίαν (16:14) and spoke to Ananias in a vision (9:10-16). Scholars, however, do not see these as the only actions of Jesus within the text. Some have viewed Acts 1:1 as indicating that Jesus continues to work through the Holy Spirit.¹⁶ This interpretation is plausible, especially in light of the synonymous way in which Luke uses "Spirit of the Lord" and "Holy Spirit."¹⁷ I contend, however, that from the perspective of the collected biography tradition the actions and words of the apostles/disciples also be attributed to Jesus,¹⁸ and seen as a clear extension of his ministry. That is, the deeds of the disciples, empowered by the Holy Spirit, are the works of Jesus.¹⁹

When interpreting the Acts narrative, there is a tendency to differentiate the deeds of the disciples from the actions of God, as if the feats of the apostles are somehow independent. Conzelmann is correct when he notes that, though actions and miracles are enacted by disciples, the "real agent" is God; it is his hand that is active through the name of Christ.²⁰ The attribution of deeds to God comes subsequently in the narrative, as a result of reflection, and is not always included in the report of what has been done by Spirit-filled human agents. This, however, does not negate the fact that it is not the disciples/apostles themselves who work miracles in Luke-Acts, but the divine Spirit working through them.

¹⁵ Bock, *Acts*, 52; Bruce, *Acts: Greek Text*, 98.

¹⁶ Barrett, *Acts*, 1.66-67; Bruce, *Acts: Greek Text*, 98; Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 3; Peterson, *Acts*, 103; M. Sleeman, "The Ascension and the Heavenly Ministry of Christ," in S. Clark (ed.), *The Forgotten Christ: Exploring the Majesty and Mystery of God Incarnate* (Nottingham: Apollos, 2007), 140-90; G.H. Twelftree, *People of the Spirit: Exploring Luke's View of the Church* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2009), 154-55.

¹⁷ A good example of this would be Philip and the Ethiopian, which starts with an angel of the Lord's commanding Philip (8:26), continues with the Spirit's urging him to stay by the chariot (8:29) and concludes with the Spirit of the Lord's taking Philip away (8:39). This narrative raises the further question of the relationship between the "angel of the Lord" and the Spirit.

¹⁸ Although not expanded, such an interpretation is hinted at by Peterson, *Acts*, 103.

¹⁹ Twelftree, *People of the Spirit*, 8, 28.

²⁰ Conzelmann, *Theology*, 215 n. 1.

One explicit example of this is the episode in Lydda in which Peter heals a paralytic (9:32-35). In this scene, Peter approaches Aeneas, who has been bedridden for eight years, and says to him, “Aeneas, Jesus Christ heals you” (Aινέα, ἰᾷταί σε Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, 9:34).²¹ Similarly, in 3:1 Peter (accompanied by John) heals a cripple with a statement beginning with a direct attribution to Jesus: ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου. That such an explicit reference to the role and function of Jesus and/or the Holy Spirit in enacting a miracle is missing in some other scenes does not negate the fact that the disciples and apostles are completely aware of the source of their power.²²

The reference of a teacher in the attribution of an action is a component of collected biographies, even after the master’s death. For example, the students of Pythagoras, in accurately following his teaching and holding to his principles, positively reflected their teacher. Here, Iamblichus recalls one of Pythagoras’ teachings on a particular theme, and then follows this with a narrative outlining how it was enacted by Pythagoras and one or more of his followers.²³ Pythagoras modeled the ideal behaviour for his students, and his students’ continuation of this behaviour is directly attributed to Pythagoras.²⁴ Pythagoras is seen to be working through the lives of his followers.

Another example of how the actions of disciples are attributed to their master can be found in Lucian’s *The Runaways* in which Philosophy laments to Zeus that her name is being besmirched by second-rate disciples who adopt her name and claim her association, but whose actions are not congruent with her teaching:

There are some, Zeus, who occupy a middle ground between the multitude and the philosophers. In deportment, glance, and gait they are like us, and similarly dressed; as a matter of fact, they want to be enlisted under my command and they enroll themselves under my name, saying that they are my pupils, disciples, and devotees. Nevertheless, their abominable way of living, full of ignorance, impudence, and wantonness, is no trifling outrage against me. (Lucian, *Fug.* 4, Loeb).

²¹ “The risen Jesus continues to heal through Peter.” Peterson, *Acts*, 321.

²² For example, there are two times where the crowd tries to attribute miraculous powers to Peter and Paul, but are dissuaded (3:16; 10:26?; 14:15).

²³ Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 185-213.

²⁴ Diogenes 8.39; Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 193-94.

Although this does not address a specific ancient philosopher and his disciples, it is clear from Lucian's rendition that the actions of a disciple or follower may be attributed to the teacher. In this case, the misdeeds of pseudo-followers directly impact the reputation of the wrongfully-associated master.²⁵

In Luke's gospel there is an intriguing verse that relates to the deeds of disciples as being those of Jesus. Luke 6:40 says, "A disciple is not above his teacher, but everyone who is fully trained will be as his teacher" (οὐκ ἔστιν μαθητὴς ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον· κατηρτισμένος δὲ πᾶς ἔσται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ). This passage has traditionally been difficult to interpret. Marshall, after evaluating other interpretive options, concludes that Jesus is telling his disciples to behave like him, and not to judge others.²⁶ Although this is possible as the statement is placed between two statements about judging (6:37-38 and 40-41), I am inclined to interpret this verse in light of the actions of the disciples in Luke and Acts. That Acts attributes the disciples' actions also to Jesus is suggested by the parallels between Jesus in the Gospel of Luke and of his disciples/followers in Acts, especially between Jesus and Paul.²⁷ This parallelism, moreover, is not limited to Jesus and Paul, as it can be seen also in Philip's mission in Acts 8.²⁸ Mattill highlights the connections between Jesus and his followers in Acts and claims that Luke 6:40 "means that a disciple, such as Stephen, James, Peter, or Paul, having been perfected through his experiences, especially those of suffering and persecution, shall be like Jesus, shall be a copy of his master."²⁹ Though I agree with his sentiment, I would emphasise that it is not only in persecution and suffering that the disciples copy their master, but also in the areas of teaching, preaching, and healing, as these actions are the primary ways outsiders associate the disciples with Jesus (see Acts 4:13). Viewed from the perspective of collected biographies, it is their faithful embodiment of Jesus'

²⁵ For a biblical example of how the actions of a philosopher's disciples bore direct witness to their master's teachings, see Mark 7:1-8 (//Matt 15:1-3) in which the Pharisees accuse Jesus that his disciples do not wash their hands, or Mark 2:23-24 (//Matt 12:1-2; Luke 6:1-2).

²⁶ Marshall, *Luke*, 270. F. Bovon, *Luke 1: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 249. I disagree with Beck's proposal that Luke's main point is that not all disciples will finish their training. B.E. Beck, *Christian Character in the Gospel of Luke* (London: Epworth Press, 1989), 117-18.

²⁷ A.J. Mattill, "The Jesus-Paul Parallels and the Purpose of Luke-Acts: H.H. Evans Reconsidered," *NovT* 27 (1975): 15-46.

²⁸ For a full list of parallels between Jesus and Paul, see Mattill, "Jesus-Paul Parallels," 22-40.

²⁹ Mattill, "Jesus-Paul Parallels," 41.

teaching, in addition to their willingness to suffer, which shows them to be true followers and representatives of their master.³⁰

Returning to the opening of Acts, an interesting proposal has been put forward by Estrada who suggests that the linguistic structure of the preface, particularly the placement and use of οἱς, shifts the focus of the narrative from Jesus to the disciples. Claiming that the disciples are Jesus' "chosen ones" (1:2), the "narrator's emphasis falls not much on *what Jesus had done* (in contrast with Lk. 24) but *to whom Jesus did it* (his apostles). From this position, the implied reader sees the apostles as lead characters in the narrative."³¹ Although I am not entirely convinced of his textual break at 1:3, I do appreciate his insight into the important shift in focus from Jesus to the disciples.³²

Another important feature of the opening of Acts is Luke's reintroduction of the "kingdom of God" (βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ) in Acts 1:3. As has been noted by other scholars, the kingdom of God is an important theme in both the Gospel and Acts.³³ Although this phrase is much more prevalent in Luke than in Acts, it has an orienting function, providing a frame for the latter book's discourse.³⁴ Furthermore, it is also mentioned at strategic points in the Acts narrative: Philip's preaching to the Samaritans (8:12); the conclusion of the first missionary trip of Paul and Barnabas (14:22); Paul's preaching in Ephesus (19:8) and ultimately at the conclusion of the Acts narrative (28:23, 31).³⁵

Although it will be further discussed at the end of chapter seven, I want to emphasise here that the theme of the kingdom of God is prominent at both the opening and closing of Acts. This placement is not accidental, but rather focuses the reader on the role of the message and teaching of Jesus in a highly emphatic

³⁰ "For it is a man's actions that naturally afford demonstrations of his opinions, and whoever holds a belief must live in accordance with it, in order that he may himself be a faithful witness to the hearers of his words" Porphyry, *Marc.* 8. I disagree with Bovon's statement: "For [Luke], only the analogy with the ethical behavior of Jesus is important." Bovon, *Luke*, 249.

³¹ N.P. Estrada, *From Followers to Leaders: The Apostles in the Ritual of Status Transformation in Acts 1-2* (JSNTS 255; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 48-49, emphasis original.

³² Estrada begins most of his discussion of Acts 1-2 with 1:3; however, I would hesitate to create a textual division at this point.

³³ Luke 1:33(?); 4:43; 6:20; 7:28; 8:1, 10; 9:2, 11, 27, 60, 62; 10:9, 11; 11:20; 13:18, 20, 28, 29; 14:15; 16:16; 17:20(x2), 21; 18:16, 17, 24, 25, 29; 19:11; 21:31; 22:16, 18; 23:51.

³⁴ Bock (*Acts*, 56) states that "this remark in Acts 1 severs as a thematic introduction."

³⁵ The "preaching the kingdom" is mentioned in 20:25, which is equated with "the whole council" or plan of God in 20:27. Peterson, *Acts*, 105.

manner—highlighting its role at the beginning of the narrative and reminding the reader of its importance at the conclusion.

Finally, in light of the theme of the kingdom of God and its introduction in Acts 1:3, it is interesting to note the verbal similarity in 1:6 where the disciples ask Jesus if he is going to restore the kingdom to Israel. Although many commentators have chastised the disciples for their lack of insight and intelligence, it is possible that there was some confusion (either in the minds of the disciples or Luke's audience) over whether the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Israel were the same thing.³⁶ Jesus does not rebuke the disciples, but rather refocuses their attention on the proclamation of the message and on being Jesus' witnesses.³⁷

It is the identification of Jesus' disciples as witnesses that is highlighted in the opening of Acts. This labelling of the disciples as holders and propagators of tradition finds strong parallels in the collected biography tradition. That this occurs at the beginning of the Acts narrative emphasises this role for the disciples and prepares the reader for the later narrative. Accordingly, viewing Acts as a collected biography reinforces this embodiment of the message by witnesses. This in turn plays a dominant role in the larger narrative and Luke's representation of Acts' characters. It is to this topic that we now turn.

The Characters of Acts

In collected biographies, particularly those whose organising principle is that of succession, the naming of individuals is important, as authority is assigned through the identifying of individuals who are transmitters of the founder's teaching. That a tradition incorporates named individuals and that an author takes the time and effort to include a person's name suggests the likely importance of such a person within the movement. This, however, does not necessarily imply that all named individuals are

³⁶ Marshall (*Acts*, 60) insightfully states that the disciples' question "may reflect the Jewish hope that God would establish his rule in such a way that the people of Israel would be freed from their enemies... If so, the disciples would appear here as representatives of those of Luke's readers who had not yet realized that Jesus had transformed the Jewish hope of the kingdom of God by purging it of its nationalistic political elements." *Contra* McLean who posits that Luke was advocating a restoration of political nation of Israel. J.A. McLean, "Did Jesus Correct the Disciples' View of the Kingdom?," *BSac* 151 (1994): 215-27. Note, however, the interesting connection between 1:6 and Luke 1:32-33.

³⁷ Parsons, *Acts*, 28.

important to the movement. Rather, it suggests that named individuals should not be immediately overlooked, but that their placement and role within the narrative should be considered.³⁸

This section will evaluate the primary named characters within the Acts narrative to understand their role and function in light of analogies in the collected-biography tradition. We will begin with a brief introduction to the nature of named individuals within collected biographies, their importance and their function. Following this, we will turn our attention to Acts and determine how Luke portrays characters who are within and outside of the Christian movement.

1. Characters in Collected Biographies

In collected biographies, particularly those that are concerned with succession, the naming of disciples is important. Within philosophical traditions, the identification of a philosopher's disciples and their subsequent students is vital for forging strong links in the chain of authoritative teaching. The connecting of one philosopher to another by way of a teacher/student relationship is a fundamental aspect of succession literature and forms the backbone of *Διάδοκοι τῆς φιλοσοφίας*.³⁹

A majority of the extant collected biographies begin by focusing on the life of either the founder of a movement or an appropriate politician or military leader.⁴⁰ Following this, the author focuses on the successors/disciples/pupils of the primary figure. This is characterised by a comprehensive presentation of one disciple prior to discussing the next disciple, even though there may be clear temporal overlap. This does not mean that references to other disciples cannot or do not occur within other narrative sections. Rather, it suggests that ancient biographers tended to complete their portrayal of one character before advancing to the next. In addition to individual depictions, disciples and pupils are also presented as part of a group. This presentation may include group actions or decisions using plural verb forms, or lists

³⁸ Although I do not entirely agree with Bauckham's conclusions, I appreciate his attention to the role of individuals within the New Testament narratives. R. Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospel as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 46-47.

³⁹ For a list of extant examples, see Meyer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 62-63.

⁴⁰ This is accurate for both *De Viris Illustribus* and for collected biographies that focus on schools and successions. For further discussion, see chapter five, section four.

of disciples by which the author identifies followers in a group. Despite how the group is referenced, the delineation of followers by the biographer identifies where the true and living tradition of the school is to be found.⁴¹

In the works at Herculaneum by Philodemus there are many references to a philosopher's disciples and succession.⁴² Sometimes these are organised in a list (P.Herc. 164, F12),⁴³ although more often they are singular references, with a particular scene or saying being attributed to a specific disciple.⁴⁴ For example, Philodemus' *Stoicorum Historia* begins by focusing on the life of Zeno.⁴⁵ After recounting Zeno's death and eulogy (Cols. 6 and 7, Dorandi), Philodemus traces the Stoic succession until his own day.⁴⁶ Although most of the work is not written in narrative form, Philodemus does provide some dramatic scenes from the lives of the Stoics throughout. The first narrative scene occurs in Col. 8 in which Zeno spars with Antigonus Gonatas through his envoys. Similar political encounters with dynasts occur involving some of Zeno's students, Perseus (Cols. 13-16, Dorandi) and Panaetius (Col. 68, Dorandi).⁴⁷

A similar practice is followed by Cicero who traces various teachings from their originators down to his own day.⁴⁸ For example, in *Div.* 1.3.6 Cicero discusses the widespread philosophical belief in divination: "For, though Socrates, and all his followers, and Zeno, and all those of his school, adhered to the opinion of the ancient philosophers, and the Old Academy and the Peripatetics agreed with them..." Following this, Cicero delineates the traditional Stoic view on divination and traces it

⁴¹ Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 128.

⁴² These works by Philodemus are intriguing in that they are more concerned with philosophers and succession than with philosophical doctrines. E.g., P.Herc. 1018 32. Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 73.

⁴³ [ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Τιμό]λαος, Καλλιγένη[ς, Ἀθη]ναῖος Τ[ι]μόλαος, [ὡς] ἐν τῷ [Περ]ιδείπνῳ [Πλάτωνος] ἱστορεῖ Σπεύ[σιππος, Ἀρχύ]τας Ταραν[τίνος, Χίων ὁ] τὸν ἐν Ἡ[ρακλείᾳ... Other such early lists of teachers and students include Hippobotus' Ἀναγραφὴ τῶν φιλοσόφων.

⁴⁴ P.Herc. 1018 12.4; 16.8; P.Herc. 1021 4.6; 10.6, 12; 20.35, 44; 36.19. For example, even though Demetrius of Phalerum was an accomplished philosopher in his own right, when he is referenced in ancient works he is almost always identified as a student/disciple/associate of Theophrastus. Philodemus, *On Rhetoric*, P.Herc. 453, fr. 4.10-13; Diogenes Laertius, 5.75; *Suda* Δ 429; Cicero, *Brut.* 9.37; *Leg.* 3.6.14; *Fin.* 5.19.54; *Off.* 1.1.3; Strabo, *Geogr.* 9.1.20.

⁴⁵ On the other hand, Philodemus' *Academicorum Historia* begins with Plato and Eucleides of Megara, followed by their pupils, and clearly envisages a sequel in a history of the other schools (31.5-12).

⁴⁶ In discussing sources for *Stoicorum Historia*, Philodemus states that he knew Panaetius' pupil, Thibron, (76.6-7) and speaks of another pupil, Apollonius of Ptolemais, as "our friend" (78.3).

⁴⁷ D. Clay, "Plain Speaking in the Other Philosophers," in John T. Fitzgerald, Dirk Obbink and Glenn Stanfield Holland (eds.), *Philodemus and the New Testament World* (NovTSup 110; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 55-72, 62.

⁴⁸ Cicero, *Nat. d.* 1.10.25-1.15.41. Not Cicero, *Acad.* 1.34-35, *contra* Talbert, "Succession in Luke-Acts and in the Lukan Milieu," 20.

from its inception in Zeno, through his disciples, to how it was corrupted by Pansetius: “Pansetius, the tutor of Posidonius and pupil of Antipater, has degenerated in some degree from the Stoics...” In this section, Cicero carefully identifies each person in terms of his relationship to the movement and its followers. The last example of Pansetius is interesting in that, though Pansetius was clearly trained by an authorised successor of Zeno, Antipater, his deviance is noted, undermining his authority within the Stoic movement.⁴⁹

The role of the disciples and their relationship(s) to their master is of particular importance to Diogenes Laertius and his *Vitae Philosophorum*. This is such a common occurrence that Sollenberger claims, “Diogenes regularly gives the names, sometimes in a list, of the students, disciples, and associates which a philosopher had, as well as how many or how few.”⁵⁰ Once again, a majority of Diogenes’ references to pupils are singular and are found within the chapter dedicated to a particular philosopher.⁵¹ However, there are a handful of disciple lists that help delineate the locus of a philosopher’s teaching.⁵² Of particular interest is the Platonic pupil list in 3.46-47,⁵³ which has some parallels with the disciple list in Acts 1:13-14 discussed below.⁵⁴ Additionally, Diogenes recounts a sizeable disciple list (7.36-38), which introduces all but one of Zeno’s disciples, whose lives are recounted in later narratives in almost exact sequence.⁵⁵ The only disciple who is not in this list is the most prominent, Chrysippus, who, although absent in the inventory, frames the list of

⁴⁹ Cicero, in *Nat. d.* 1.10.25-1.15.41, recounts the teachers that lead to the Stoic school, including Thales, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Antisthenes, Zeno, and Perseus.

⁵⁰ See Sollenberger, “The Lives of the Peripatetics,” 3801.

⁵¹ Some examples include Diogenes, 2.12, 29, 86, 105, 114, 124, 126; 3.19, 46; 4.58, 63; 5.36; 6.2, 82, 84, 85, 89, 102, 105; 7.35, 131, 177, 179; 8.2, 58, 78, 86; 9.21, 24, 25, 30, 34, 58, 115. Diogenes also notes that some philosophers were not pupils of anyone, being self-taught. These philosophers were typically founders of a movement (Epicurus, 10.12) or “sporadic philosophers” found in book 9 (Heraclitus, 9.5; Xenophanes, 9.18).

⁵² Diogenes, 2.85-86; 3.46-47; 6.84, 95; 7.36-38, 84; 8.46; 9.69, 115; 10.22-26. Also note the detailed succession recounted in 9.116.

⁵³ Μαθηταὶ δ’ αὐτοῦ Σπύσιππος Ἀθηναῖος, Ξενοκράτης Καλχηδόνιος, Ἀριστοτέλης Σταγειρίτης, Φίλιππος Ὀπουντίος, Ἑστιαῖος Περίνθιος, Δίων Συρακόσιος, Ἄμυκλος Ἡρακλεώτης, Ἑραστος καὶ Κορίσκος Σκήψιοι, Τιμόλαος Κυζικηνός, Εὐαῖον Λαμψακηνός, Πύθων καὶ Ἡρακλείδης Αἰνιοί, Ἴπποθάλῃς καὶ Κάλλιππος Ἀθηναῖοι, Δημήτριος Ἀμφιπολίτης, Ἡρακλείδης Ποντικός καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους, σὺν οἷς καὶ γυναῖκες δύο Λασθένεια Μαντινικὴ καὶ Ἀξιοθέα Φλειασία ἣ καὶ ἀνδρεῖα ἡμίσχετο, ὥς φησι Δικαίαρχος. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστον ἀκοῦσαί φασιν αὐτοῦ: καὶ Ὑπερίδην τὸν ῥήτορα Χαμαιλέων φησὶ καὶ Λυκοῦργον.

⁵⁴ This is the largest of Diogenes’ disciple lists and specifically identifies by name 16 male and 2 female disciples (μαθηταὶ) of Plato and states that there are also “many others” (ἄλλοι πλείους). See also Plutarch, *Adv. Col.* 14 (1115A), 32 (1126C-D).

⁵⁵ Ariston 7.160-64; Herillus 7.165-66; Dionysius 7.166-67; Sphaerus 177-78; and Cleanthes 168-76.

other disciples (7.35, 39), and has the largest disciple section in book seven (7.179-202). Diogenes provides further parallels with Acts, this time Acts 11:26 and the naming of Jesus' followers as "Christians". In his description of the philosophical schools, Diogenes provides five explicit examples in which he states that a philosophical group was given a new name based on their founder.⁵⁶

One of the largest extant disciple lists is located at the conclusion of Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life*. Following the death of Pythagoras, Iamblichus identifies the key Pythagorean followers (Damophon of Kroton being the top heir) and lists all other known disciples: 218 men and 17 women.⁵⁷ Porphyry's *Vita Plotini* 7 provides a contemporary disciple list in which 12 of his disciples are mentioned with biographical information.⁵⁸

The above references primarily consist of lists of disciples or references to teacher/student relations, often with minimal additional information.⁵⁹ However, these citations do not delineate the entirety of these relational references as many biographies provide short narrative sections on the deeds of specific disciples. Although these narrative portraits are not predominant in collected biographies, their inclusion was a common feature.

One such example is Aulus Gellius, *Noct. att.* 13.5.1-12, which provides a narrative account of the succession of Aristotle. The scene commences with Aristotle near death and his disciples pleading with him to choose a successor. Out of all of his disciples, his two most prominent are Theophrastus of Lesbos and Eudemus of Rhodes. So, calling for two bottles of wine, one from Lesbos and one from Rhodes, Aristotle comments on the attributes of each of the wines and selects the one from Lesbos as it is the sweetest. In doing so he selects his successor.

Another example can be drawn from Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life* 189-94, in which a group of (unnamed) disciples of Pythagoras are ambushed by the tyrant Dionysius' troops. They decide to flee for their lives and are on the verge of escaping when they come across a bean field. Rather than transgress their master's

⁵⁶ "Socratics" 2.47; "Cyrenaics" 2.85-86; the wives of disciples called "Pythagorean women" 8.41; "Heracliteans" 9.6; "Pyrrhoneans" 9.69-70.

⁵⁷ Iamblichus, *Pyth.* 265-67. Iamblichus states that these are only the known/remembered disciples and that there were more who were unknown. Another list is found in *Pyth.* 104.

⁵⁸ Not only are there twelve disciples mentioned, but Plotinus calls two of them by new names, e.g., calling Paulinus "Mikkalos" and Maximus "Megalos" (*Plot.* 7).

⁵⁹ For other examples, see Plutarch, *Exil.* 14; Clement, *Strom.* 1.14; Origen, *Cels.* 3.67.

command regarding beans, they stand their ground and are killed. As this story continues, the narrative shifts to focus on two named disciples, Myllias and his pregnant wife Timycha, who stumble across the mercenaries and are captured. Brought before Dionysius, Myllias refuses to betray Pythagoras' secret teachings. Consequently, Dionysius decides to torture the pregnant Timycha so that she will confess Pythagoras' teachings. However, before the torture begins she bites her tongue off in order that she may not confess under duress. Accordingly, these two disciples are credited with faithfully following the teachings of their master. At 539 Greek words, this incident is one of the longer narrative episodes in philosophical biographies and is longer than most of the shorter narratives in Acts.⁶⁰

2. Characters and Disciple Lists in Acts

In Acts there are references to characters both inside and outside of the Christian movement, although primary consideration is given to the former. As outlined in chapter five, the narrative is structured around a series of individual apostles and disciples.⁶¹ The narrative commences with Jesus' providing proof to a group of people that he is alive. Although initially unspecified, this group is later identified as ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι (1:11) by the two beings dressed in white. After returning to Jerusalem, the group is further identified as Peter, John, James, Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, James the son of Alphaeus, Simon the Zealot, Judas the son of James, the women, Mary the mother of Jesus, and his brothers (1:13-14).⁶² This forms the first disciple list in Acts and re-introduces the eleven

⁶⁰ Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1-11) has 206 words; Philip and his travels in Samaria (Acts 8:4-25) has 345 words; and Philip and Ethiopian Eunuch (Acts 8:26-40) has 279 words. In contrast, the Stephen episode (Acts 6:8-8:1) contains 1270 words.

⁶¹ Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 44.

⁶² For a discussion of the Greek, see Barrett, *Acts*, 1.89, although a majority of recent commentaries takes the γυναιξίν to represent female disciples and not wives. Cf. Codex D.

I disagree with Davies, Parvey, and Estrada that the inclusion of the women was not merely to engage the attention of Luke's female audience, but to support the role of these females (now no longer known) within the early church community. S. Davies, "Women in the Third Gospel and the New Testament Apocrypha," in A. Levin (ed.), *Women Like This: New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 185-97, 190; C.F. Parvey, "The Theology and Leadership of Women in the New Testament," in R.R. Reuther (ed.), *Religion and Sexism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), 138-47, 140-42; Estrada, *From Followers to Leaders*, 130.

disciples and other key followers, many of whom will play important roles in the narrative.⁶³

This list contains the same names as those recorded earlier in Luke 6:14-16 (excluding Judas); however, there are some notable changes in order of appearance. In Luke the disciples are present in the order: Simon (whom Jesus named Peter), his brother Andrew, James, John, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Thomas, James the son of Alphaeus, Simon the Zealot, Judas the son of James, and Judas Iscariot.⁶⁴ Although Simon Peter receives primary placement in both lists, there is a prioritising of John and James in Acts and a demoting of Andrew. The motivation for this change is likely that Peter, John and James are the only three of these eleven disciples who have active roles in the Acts narrative thereafter.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the ordering of Peter, John and James is representative of the amount of space each character occupies within the later narrative. The other eight disciples do not play any specific role in Acts.

The placement of this list at the commencement of the narrative, moreover, is not arbitrary, but continues to shift strategically the locus of authority from Jesus to the disciples.⁶⁶ As seen above, upon the death of the founder/leader there is the potential for a power vacuum to form. By placing the first disciple list in Acts directly after Jesus' ascension Luke clearly indicates that this group of disciples, of whom Peter is the head, now holds the authority previously assigned to Jesus within Luke's Gospel, and they are authorised delegates and authoritative teachers.⁶⁷

This episode is also strongly tied with the Judas/Matthias narrative of 1:15-26, as both episodes focus on the identification of the authentic disciples.⁶⁸ Estrada claims

⁶³ Interestingly, James, the brother of Jesus, is not explicitly referenced here, although he does go on to play an important role within the Acts narrative. J.D.G. Dunn, *Beginning From Jerusalem: Christianity in the Making*, vol. 2 (Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 2009), 150.

⁶⁴ For a discussion on the possible confusion of who constituted the twelve, see J.D.G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 507-11.

⁶⁵ Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 98.

⁶⁶ This is in addition to the "legitimization" of the disciples in the preface. Estrada, *From Followers to Leaders*, 66-69. Parsons also identifies this as a succession list in the tradition of the Greek philosophers. Parsons, *Acts*, 30.

⁶⁷ A.C. Clark, *Parallel Lives: The Relation of Paul to the Apostles in the Lucan Perspective* (PBM; Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 2001), 121-23. *Contra* J. Jervell, "The Twelve on Israel's Thrones: Luke's Understanding of the Apostolate," in *Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), 75-112, 96-98.

⁶⁸ I disagree with Barrett, *Acts*, 1.91, who makes a strong break between these two episodes (1:12-14 and 1:15-26). Although the temporal marker in 1:15 does suggest a shift in temporal location and so

that the “enumeration of names primarily intends to highlight, not those *who are in the group*, but the *one who is no longer in the group*.”⁶⁹ Although I agree that the narrative following the list emphasises the role of Judas and his expulsion from the list of disciples, and I approve of Estrada’s focus on in- and out-groups, I disagree with the placement of his emphasis. If Luke had wanted to focus only on Judas, he could have easily done so without the disciple list. Furthermore, Estrada’s theory does not explain why there are names in addition to those of the disciples, such as Jesus’ family, which would only obscure an emphasis on the missing twelfth disciple.⁷⁰

The apostles have many roles in the Acts narrative.⁷¹ In this study, I am particularly interested in how they function as faithful witnesses of Jesus’ resurrection as authoritative teachers in the Christian community. The former can be observed primarily in the selection of Matthias (1:21-22) and the speeches of Peter (2:32; 3:15; 5:32; 10:41), whereas the latter is evident in the teaching of Peter and John (Acts 2:42; 4:2, 31; 5:20-21, 28, 42). This is discussed more fully below.

Although the disciple list in 1:13-14 is by far the most prominent, it is not the only list in Acts.⁷² Acts 6:5 provides the names of seven men who are selected by the Twelve: Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit; also Philip, Procorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolas from Antioch, a convert to Judaism. Again, this list commences with two characters who are found later in the narrative and appear in decreasing order with respect to the amount of narrative given to them. The list shifts the focus of the narrative away from the apostles and introduces two key members of the group of seven.⁷³

Acts 13:1 provides a list of prophets and teachers in Antioch: Barnabas, Simeon called Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaen (who had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch) and Saul. The foregrounding of Barnabas is understandable in light of his

indicates at least a paragraph break, I would not go so far as to suggest that there would be a large narrative division as there are clear thematic connections. For an overview of the various textual divisions and the function of 1:12-24, see Estrada, *From Followers to Leaders*, 116-21.

⁶⁹ Estrada, *From Followers to Leaders*, 122. Emphasis his.

⁷⁰ Clark highlights Luke’s claim that there were several suitable candidates who were qualified for the position of apostle. Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 121 n. 27.

⁷¹ For a larger list of the apostles’ functions, see Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 326.

⁷² I question Parsons’ claim that Acts 1:23 is a list as it only contains two names: Joseph called Barsabbas (also known as Justus) and Matthias. Parsons, *Acts*, 184.

⁷³ The disciples are still prominent in this episode, particularly in the laying on of hands to bestow authority. Witherington, *Acts*, 251.

prior role in Acts; however, the placement of Saul is an obstacle for commentators. Pervo claims that Barnabas and Paul “frame the list, not accidentally,” and I would agree.⁷⁴ That Luke’s placement of Paul may have been a problem for ancient readers is seen in Bruce’s citation of a Latin manuscript that repositions Saul to the second person referenced, possibly to maintain the “Barnabas and Paul” ordering exhibited earlier in the Acts narrative.⁷⁵

The final disciple list occurs at 20:4 and lists some of Paul’s traveling companions: Sopater son of Pyrrhus from Berea, Aristarchus and Secundus from Thessalonica, Gaius from Derbe, Timothy, and Tychicus and Trophimus from the province of Asia.⁷⁶ Of all of these men, only Timothy plays a notable role within the Acts narrative, and even then it is as a supporting character to the Pauline missions.

That Luke’s use of disciple lists is important for narrative development is apparent, particularly in the cases of Acts 1:13-14 and 6:5, passages which directly prefigure a change in the narrative.⁷⁷ Similarly the list at 13:1 directly precedes the commencement of the first mission by Barnabas and Saul and acts as a marker for the focus on Paul in the remainder of the text.⁷⁸ Acts 20:4 occurs at the end of Paul’s missionary journeys and essentially completes his time of preaching to the gentiles abroad. This list, then, marks the beginning of his travel back to Jerusalem.

Luke, in addition to lists, further emphasises certain disciples in the Acts narrative by focusing on them in specific narrative sections. For example—excluding Peter and Paul who will be discussed in the following chapter—Luke devotes segmented portions of Acts to specific disciples: John, Stephen, Philip, Ananias, James the brother of Jesus, and Barnabas. It is to these individual narratives that we now turn.

⁷⁴ Pervo, *Acts*, 321.

⁷⁵ Bruce, *Acts: Greek Text*, 293. *Erant etiam in ecclesia prophetae et doctores Barnabas et Saulus.*

Peterson (*Acts*, 374) proposal that Saul is placed last because he was a late arrival is not convincing as none of the other lists in Luke or Acts are explicitly chronologically ordered, nor do we have any insight into the chronological sequencing of this list. Clark (*Parallel Lives*, 309) proposes that it is ordered by status based on age and experience, although with little supporting evidence.

⁷⁶ For a discussion on the names of the list and the likeliness that the list is incomplete, see Pervo, *Acts*, 508-509. Although I agree with Pervo that this list is incomplete, I do not agree with him that the omission of Titus was “due to Lucan *damnatio memoriae*” (p. 509) as that would have precluded his mention earlier in the narrative. It is possible that these are Paul’s current traveling companion. For an emphasis on *seven* companions, see Parsons, *Acts*, 286.

⁷⁷ It is surprising that Tannehill, despite his attention to characters in Acts narrative, pays little attention to the role and placement of lists.

⁷⁸ Witherington (*Acts*, 390) identifies this as a “turning point in the narrative”. So also, E. Best, “Acts 13.1-3,” *JTS* 11 (1960): 344-48; F.S. Spencer, *The Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles* (IBT; Nashville: Abingdon, 2008), 96.

2.1 John

John, one of the most prominent of Jesus' disciples, appears regularly in Acts 3–4, but always as Peter's companion, never by himself.⁷⁹ In fact, John does not say anything in the Acts narrative, though Luke does use the third person plural on occasion (4:1). This concentration early in Acts is likely due to the prominent role that John held at the beginning of the movement.⁸⁰ That he does not feature again in Acts does not negate his importance within the Christian movement, but only means that he has finished playing his role in Luke's account.

A particularly noteworthy aspect of Luke's portrayal of John occurs in 4:13 in which the rulers, elders, scribes, and high priest marvel at the response of Peter and John and attribute their ability to their time with Jesus (ἐθαύμαζον ἐπεγίνωσκόν τε αὐτοὺς ὅτι σὺν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἦσαν). In this episode Luke clearly differentiates Peter and John from the Jewish leadership by showing that the disciples received training outside of official circles.⁸¹ Similarly, Luke has the Jewish leaders and Christian opponents (correctly) identify Peter and John as members of the Way through their association with and training from Jesus. Furthermore, this boldness (παρρησίαν) that characterises their association with Jesus continues throughout the narrative to be a distinguishing mark of true followers of Jesus (4:29, 31; 9:28; 13:46; 14:3; 18:26; 26:26; 28:31).⁸²

2.2 Stephen

Directly after the disciple list in 6:5, Luke shifts the narrative to focus on two of the seven: Stephen and Philip. Although much scholarly attention has been devoted to

⁷⁹ Acts 3:1, 3, 4, 11; 4:13, 19; 8:14. The notable exception to this is Acts 12:2, which provides a familiar reference to the killing of James by Herod Antipas. Although this is the only reference to the disciple James outside of the initial disciple list (Acts 1:13), this reference suggests that James was a prominent figure in the movement. That Luke records his death while omitting others further emphasises his status.

⁸⁰ Paul indicates that he was one of the "pillar apostles" (Gal 2:9).

⁸¹ Bock, *Acts*, 196.

⁸² Boldness was important for philosophers, especially so as it was strongly tied to moral character. Plutarch, *Adul. amic.* 32-37.

Stephen's speech and his critique of Judaism and the temple,⁸³ this study will focus on the presentation of his character and his role in the larger narrative, particularly his death.⁸⁴ Furthermore, unlike some who claim independence for Stephen within the Acts narrative,⁸⁵ I propose that Luke forms strong relationships between Stephen and other key characters.

One of the most immediately apparent attributes of Stephen is that he is full of the Holy Spirit: ἄνδρα πλήρης πίστεως καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου (6:5), πλήρης χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως (6:8), people were unable to resist the wisdom and Spirit with which he was teaching (6:10), and πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου (7:55). Furthermore, Luke states that Stephen ἐποίει τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα μεγάλα ἐν τῷ λαῷ (6:8). All of these descriptions, as well as his vision of Jesus in heaven, solidify his prominent place within Luke's depiction of the Christian movement.

In evaluating Stephen's death, there are strong parallels with the trial and death of Jesus.⁸⁶ Particularly striking are the strong resemblances between the final words of Jesus and of Stephen, in that both pray that their spirit would be received—Jesus: πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεται τὸ πνεῦμά μου (Luke 23:46); Stephen: κύριε Ἰησοῦ, δέξαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου (Acts 7:59). Moreover, both offer forgiveness to their aggressors—Jesus consistently preached forgiveness of adversaries (Luke 11:4; 17:3; 23:34[?]; 24:47); Stephen: κύριε, μὴ στήσης αὐτοῖς ταύτην τὴν ἁμαρτίαν (Acts 7:60).⁸⁷ These parallels are clearly intentional, and functionally connect Stephen with Jesus and indicate that Stephen portrayed the same spirit and calmness when facing his death that his master Jesus did.⁸⁸ Furthermore, this connection is intensified with Stephen's vision of the glorified Jesus—one of the few explicit

⁸³ For an outline of particular views, see D.D. Sylva, "The Meaning and Function of Acts 7:46-50," *JBL* 106 (1987): 261-75, 261-62 n.4.

⁸⁴ I agree with Moessner that "Stephen is a transition figure." D.P. Moessner, "'The Christ Must Suffer': New Light on the Jesus-Peter, Stephen, Paul Parallels in Luke-Acts," *NovT* 28 (1986): 220-56, 227.

⁸⁵ For example, see M.H. Scharlemann, *Stephen, A Singular Saint* (AB 34; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1968).

⁸⁶ See below for a discussion of the manner and vocabulary of deaths in Acts. Luke does not use ἐξέψυχεν (as discussed below), but rather uses ἐκοιμήθη, which, according to later New Testament teaching, will result in resurrection. For references, see Bock, *Acts*, 316; Witherington, *Acts*, 276-77.

⁸⁷ Although the best parallel here is Luke 23:34, its omission from many witnesses suggests that it is not original. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 154; Marshall, *Luke*, 867-68; Witherington, *Acts*, 253. For a larger list of parallels, see Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 264-67.

⁸⁸ Tannehill, *Acts*, 99.

visions of Jesus in the Acts narrative⁸⁹—which indicates to the reader God’s approval and Stephen’s privileged position in the Christian movement.⁹⁰

The cumulative value of these features is the clear identification of Stephen as a central member of the Christian community. This is apparent through the detailed links between Stephen and Saul/Paul in the Acts narrative. Beginning with the interlocking narrative of Acts 7:54-8:3,⁹¹ Luke continues throughout Acts to forge connective links between Stephen and Paul.⁹² The similarities are so notable that Tannehill and others have claimed that “Saul is, in fact, taking up the work of Stephen.”⁹³

This impression is further developed in Acts through some of Luke’s and Paul’s comments. In both 8:1 and 11:19 Luke explicitly pairs the spread of the gospel with the persecution of Stephen, reinforcing the role of Stephen within the narrative.⁹⁴ Similarly, Paul’s recollection of his role in Stephen’s killing (Acts 22:20) indicates that this was one of the key reasons for the Christians’ anxiety in Jerusalem and Paul’s resulting mission to the gentiles.⁹⁵ As a result, Luke, once again, strongly connects the gentile mission to the role and character of Stephen through the mouth of Paul, Acts’ leading protagonist,⁹⁶ which in turn recalls the programmatic statement of Acts 1:8 and the advancement of the gospel to the “ends of the earth” (ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς).⁹⁷

⁸⁹ Paul claims that he saw Jesus speaking to him (ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν λέγοντά μοι) in Acts 22:18.

⁹⁰ I agree with Weiser’s statement that “Gott ist auf seiten des Stephanus, nicht seiner Gegner.” A. Weiser, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1981), 192.

⁹¹ E. Richard, *Acts 6.1-8.4: The Author’s Method of Composition* (SBLDS 41; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 228-29.

⁹² For a detailed list, see Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 273-78.

⁹³ Tannehill, *Acts*, 100; Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 278.

⁹⁴ F.S. Spencer, *The Portrait of Philip in Acts: A Study of Roles and Relations* (JSNTS 67; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 32-33.

⁹⁵ That this event is recalled in Acts suggests that it was a formative incident for the church. Barrett, *Acts*, 1.381.

⁹⁶ Parsons (*Acts*, 313) suggests that the reference of Stephen by Paul prepares the audience for the response of the incensed crowd. Although the Stephen reference might function in this way, the mention of such an important character in the Acts narrative, especially one who has been consistently paired with the gentile mission, provides greater narrative depth than just preparing the reader. Paul’s statement in 22:21, that he is going to be sent to the gentiles, would function in that same manner.

⁹⁷ Moessner, “The Christ Must Suffer,” 228.

2.3 Philip

Philip “the Evangelist”⁹⁸ is another significant character in Acts—although scholars have been slow to recognise this⁹⁹—and continues Luke’s focus on the disciples listed in 6:5. Philip plays a pivotal function in promulgating the gospel message outside of Jerusalem, both to the Samaritans (8:5-13)¹⁰⁰ and to the Ethiopian eunuch (8:26-40). This boundary-crossing activity advances the programmatic project set out in Acts 1:8 and should be understood as a major marker in the spreading of the movement. That this act is attributed to Philip (and sanctioned by Peter and John) rightly establishes him as part of the authorised group of Jesus followers.¹⁰¹

That Philip is positively associated with the Christian movement is also indicated by Luke’s representation and description of his message and actions: preaching Christ (ἐκήρυσσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Χριστόν, 8:5), healing the lame, casting out demons, and proclaiming the kingdom of God (εὐαγγελιζόμενον περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ, 8:12) and the name of Jesus Christ (τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 8:12).¹⁰² It is particularly this last statement regarding the kingdom of God (and the associated name of Jesus Christ) that provides continuity with the Acts narrative as a whole and its literary framework (Luke 1:2; Acts 1:3; 28:31).¹⁰³

These activities (advancing the movement and faithfully representing the message of the founder) are standard attributes of successors/followers within collected biographies. Furthermore, Spencer has suggested that the Samaritan mission in Acts

⁹⁸ Matthews argues that the early church understood Philip the Evangelist to be the same person as Philip the Apostle. Although intriguing, this study will focus solely on the Lukan representation which clearly distinguishes Philip from the apostles (8:1). C.R. Matthews, *Philip: Apostle and Evangelist: Configurations of a Tradition* (NovTSup 105; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 15-34, 64-70.

⁹⁹ Spencer, *Portrait of Philip*, 13-14.

¹⁰⁰ I am not convinced that Philip is an active character in 8:14-25 and to be included with Peter and John.

¹⁰¹ Although Philip initiated the Samaritan mission, the giving of the Holy Spirit to affirm his work was delayed until the arrival of Peter and John. Accordingly, the gift of the Spirit is a sign of divine approval of Philip’s preaching and indicates his mission’s ties with the leading disciples in Jerusalem. It has been suggested that Luke might have been portraying Philip as a secondary figure to Peter and John, subordinating him to the Jerusalem apostles by only having the mission be fully concluded under the authorization of Peter and John. (so, E. Haenchen, “Simon Magus in der Apostelgeschichte,” in K.-W. Tröger (ed.), *Gnosis und Neues Testament: Studien aus Religionswissenschaft und Theologie* [Gütersloh: Mohn, 1973], 267-79, 277). Modern investigations, however, have not supported this position. See Spencer, *Portrait of Philip*; Matthews, *Philip*.

¹⁰² Spencer, *Portrait of Philip*, 53; Tannehill, *Acts*, 103-104.

¹⁰³ For further discussion, see chapter seven.

8 parallels Jesus' preaching in Samaria in Luke 9:51-56.¹⁰⁴ Unlike the gospel story, the Samaritans in Acts welcome the message regarding Jesus and are baptised (8:12). This particular pairing of Philip and Jesus in their missions solidifies Philip's role within the Christian movement, establishing him as an authorised bearer of tradition who explicitly follows in the mission and teaching practices of his master.¹⁰⁵

Such a seal of approval is emphasised in the Ethiopian eunuch narrative (8:26-40) through the multiple promptings of the Spirit and the angel of the Lord. Here the Spirit explicitly directs Philip in his interaction with the Ethiopian, resulting in a conversion and baptism. Although this episode is not referred to subsequently within the Acts narrative, some scholars have identified it as completing the geographic mission programme in Acts 1:8, the gospel going to the ends of the earth.¹⁰⁶

Although emphasis on successful teaching is a standard component of collected biographies, it almost goes without saying that the disciples of philosophers are not supported by the spirit of their teacher(s). As a result, the role of the Spirit in Acts is unprecedented in biographical works and a distinguishing feature of the Acts narrative. Overall, "Philip's mission of preaching and healing is described in ways that suggest its similarity to and continuity with the mission of Jesus and the apostles."¹⁰⁷ Such continuity is solidified through Philip's positive interaction with almost all of the leading characters of Acts: Stephen (6:5), Peter and John (8:14-25), and Paul (21:8-9).¹⁰⁸ In doing so, Luke firmly integrates Philip among the authoritative members of the church.

¹⁰⁴ Spencer, *Portrait of Philip*, 54-62.

¹⁰⁵ Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 282.

¹⁰⁶ Ancient authors portray Ethiopia as the southern limit of the known world. Homer, *Od.* 1.23; Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.25, 114; Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.1.6; 1.2.24. For further discussion, see W.C. van Unnik, "Der Ausdruck 'ΕΩΣ 'ΕΣΧΑΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ (Apostlegeschichte I 8) und sein alttestamentlicher Hintergrund," in *Sparsa Collection: The Collected Essays of W. C. van Unnik* (NovTSup 29; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 1.386-401, 400. I am not convinced that Rome would have been identified by the readers as "the end of the earth", even though that is where the Acts narrative concludes. Pao posits a "theopolitical" understanding to 1:8, where as Bock thinks that this verse is both geographical and ethnic in scope. D. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (WUNT 2.130; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 95; Bock, *Acts*, 64-65. Although I agree with Pervo (*Profit with Delight*, 70-71) that this signifies for Luke "the end of the earth" I disagree with his dismissing of the idea that this was the first gentile conversion because Luke did not explicit reference the Ethiopian's gentleness. So, Spencer, *Portrait of Philip*, 186-87; Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 67-68.

¹⁰⁷ Tannehill, *Acts*, 104. Samkutty notes the use of the "Kingdom of God" as another direct link between Philip and Jesus. V.J. Samkutty, *The Samaritan Mission in Acts* (LNTS 328; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 170.

¹⁰⁸ Spencer (*Portraits of Philip*, 270) suggests that Philip was known to the author of Acts as he considers "Luke" a member of the "we" source. Although I am not entirely convinced that the "we"

2.4 *Ananias*

Ananias is also a minor but important character Acts (Acts 9:10-19a) and Tannehill is correct in emphasising Ananias' lengthy dialogue with the Lord and how it was required to change Ananias' perspective on Saul.¹⁰⁹ This dialogue between Ananias and the Lord is vital for the Acts narrative, as it reveals to the readers for the first time that Saul has switched camps and has become an approved member of the Christian movement. Although it is clear from Acts 9:1-9 that Saul has had a powerful encounter with the heavenly Jesus, it is only in the Lord's conversation with Ananias that the reader becomes fully aware of the change within Saul.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, as presented in Acts, it could only be through a firm statement from the Lord (who knows the heart of Saul) that Ananias, and in fact the Christian community at large, would be able to overcome their fear and apprehension and step out in faith to receive Saul into their community.

That Ananias' vision is important for the reader's expectations of Paul later in the Acts narrative almost goes without saying.¹¹¹ In fact these statements by the Lord programmatically outline the role that Paul will play in the remainder of Acts.¹¹² Nevertheless, Luke reinforces his presentation of Ananias: he was a faithful minister of the Lord (despite his hesitation), had a somewhat prophetic-like ability to have visions and communicate directly with the Lord, was able to pray for miraculous sight restoration, and was authorised to baptise new converts into the movement.¹¹³ All of these are characteristic features of prominent Christians.

indicates that the author was a member of Paul's missionary tour, I affirm that it is likely that Philip knew the person who penned the "we" account, which suggests that he was widely connected to others within the church.

For an outline of the parallels between Philip and Paul, see Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 284-93.

¹⁰⁹ Tannehill, *Acts*, 115-16.

¹¹⁰ For parallels with conversions from the philosophical tradition, see A.D. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in the Religion From Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 164-86.

¹¹¹ Wilson insightfully notes that it was important that Ananias acts as an ambassador of God, rather than then of the church, in order to maintain Paul's claim that he was not from men or through man (Gal 1:1). S.G. Wilson, *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts* (SNTSMS 23; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 165. Although I agree with the importance of the role of God played in this scene, Wilson's insinuation that Luke crafted the narrative to fit Paul's claim in Galatians overreaches.

¹¹² See the later reference to Ananias by Paul in Acts 22:12.

¹¹³ Barrett, *Acts*, 1.441.

2.5 James

James, the brother of Jesus, is another main character in the developing Christian movement. As the eldest brother of Jesus, it would have been natural for James to be accorded a prominent role in the fledgling movement. However, besides a buried reference in 1:14, James is not referenced in Acts until 12:17. It is unclear where James was and what he was doing prior to this point, but that his first reference is somewhat late in Acts suggests that his rise to prominence took some time.¹¹⁴

Acts 12:17 appears to be a transitional point in the Acts narrative at which James becomes the dominant figure in Jerusalem. Immediately prior to this verse, Peter is released from Herod's prison by an angel. After reporting all that has happened, Peter says, "Tell James and the brothers about this" (ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰακώβῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ταῦτα), and then leaves for another, unspecified place. From this point onward, James is the key figure in the Jerusalem church and Peter is all but forgotten.¹¹⁵ Although some have suggested that this passage marks the event of leadership transition, Painter makes a good point when he notes that Peter's assumed leadership is based on interpretive tradition and that Acts does not explicitly state that Peter was the head of the church.¹¹⁶ In fact, all reports suggest that there was no single leader of the Jerusalem church, but that Peter and James were part of a group of leaders among whom they stood out.

Although he is only referenced three times in Acts (12:17; 15:13; 21:18), James was an important character within the early church. That James required no introduction or further clarification suggests that Luke thought that his audience would know him.¹¹⁷ His lack of representation, however, has puzzled some scholars. Hengel claims that it is tendentious,¹¹⁸ while Painter claims that Luke did not want to recount James' martyrdom because of the prestige attached to his death. This

¹¹⁴ Dunn, *Beginning from Jerusalem*, 210.

¹¹⁵ M. Hengel, *Saint Peter: The Underestimated Apostle* (trans. T.H. Trapp; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 78; J. Painter, *Just James: The Brother of Jesus in History and Tradition* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 42-43. Peter does return to the narrative in 15:7-11, however, even in this discussion James gets the final word (15:13-21).

¹¹⁶ Painter, *Just James*, 44.

¹¹⁷ Barrett, *Acts*, 586; Pervo, *Acts*, 307-308; Tannehill, *Acts*, 186. The importance of James is supported by Paul's statements in Gal 2:9 and 12; *Gos. Thom.* 12.

¹¹⁸ M. Hengel, "Jacobus der Herrenbruder—der erste 'Papst'?", in E. Grässer and O. Merk (eds.), *Glaube und Eschatologie: Festschrift für W.G. Kümmel zum 80 Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985), 71-104, 75.

position is based on a preconceived division between Paul and James, as portrayed in Paul's letters, which is then imposed on the Acts narrative. As a result, Painter further claims, "It is as if Luke has pushed James into the background, but, because of his prominence, has been unable to obscure totally his leading role."¹¹⁹ In this view, Luke's desire to minimise James is thwarted and he was forced to incorporate him in his narrative.

When we evaluate the Acts narrative, however, it appears that this strong division between Paul and James is absent. In Acts 15 and the Jerusalem council, James is portrayed by Luke as a moderator, one who can reconcile contrary positions and make a way for both Jews and gentiles to come to faith.¹²⁰ In Acts 21, when Paul returns to Jerusalem, James and the elders meet with him and praise God at his report (21:20). Directly after this James and the elders propose a plan to help protect Paul from the Jews who are still zealous for the law. Paul willingly accepts this plan of action from James and follows through on it without hesitation. That the proposal does not work out as hoped does not discount the positive sentiment and unity found within the Acts narrative.¹²¹

Following this conversation with Paul, James does not appear again in the text and it is unfortunate that Luke does not provide a more complete account of his ministry. Furthermore, that there is no account of his death is also not a problem when considering the collected biography tradition.¹²² Although this will be fully discussed below in the section dealing with the ending of Acts and the omission of Paul's death, it is enough to state for now that recounting the death of a follower was not a requisite feature in collected biographies.

¹¹⁹ Painter, *Just James*, 56.

¹²⁰ Painter, *Just James*, 52.

¹²¹ Barrett (*Acts*, 1000) claims: "The possibility cannot be excluded that in the interests of peace he allowed himself to be persuaded, perhaps against his better judgement, to take part in the legal requirements laid upon those who had taken the vows. If so, the outcome must have speedily shown him the error of his decision." Barrett continues (1013): "Undoubtedly the plan, as described in Acts, misfired. That is, the demonstration proposed by James was ill adapted to its purpose—unless indeed we are to suppose that James's real but secret motive was to discredit Paul in the eyes of the Gentile church." This negativity is unfounded and cannot be supported from Acts narrative. Furthermore, it should be noted that it was not the plan that failed; Paul was not accused by the Jews regarding his vow, but for the possibility that he brought a gentile into the temple grounds. Although Paul was likely in the temple due to his vow, these accusations are quite different.

¹²² For accounts of James' death, see: Josephus, *Ant.* 20.9.1; Hegesippus, *Hypomnemata*, book 5, and Clement, quoted in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.1-25.

2.6 Barnabas

After Peter and Paul, one of the most important figures in the Acts narrative is Barnabas, who plays a substantial role in the early church, as well as mentoring Paul in his missionary work. Barnabas is first introduced to the narrative (4:36-37) as a model disciple, who is both generous and encouraging (also 11:24).¹²³ After this brief episode Barnabas next appears in Acts 9:27 as a mediator between Saul and the apostles, successfully integrating Saul into this community. In that scene, the apostles once again function as those who have authority to declare Saul genuine. Furthermore, that the apostles are willing to trust Barnabas' claims regarding Saul speaks to his stature and influence within the early church.¹²⁴ This trust is confirmed in 11:22-24 where Barnabas is commissioned by the Jerusalem church to be an envoy to the Christians in Antioch.¹²⁵ This is immediately followed by Barnabas' collecting Saul from Tarsus to minister with him in Antioch (11:25-26).

Acts 13:1–14:28 pairs Barnabas and Saul as missionary partners set apart by the Lord through one of the prophets and commissioned by the church at Antioch. Once again this shift in narrative commences with a disciple list (13:1), and it is notable that at this stage in the narrative Barnabas is presented first followed by Saul, by both the narrator (13:8) and the Holy Spirit (13:2). This ordering, however, changes after Saul's dramatic filling with the Holy Spirit and his narrative name change to Paul in 13:9.¹²⁶ After this it is Paul who gets first billing (e.g., 13:13). Although Barnabas is still an important character in the later missionary ventures and in the defence of the gentile mission in Acts 15, it is clear that Paul is now the dominant and more prominent character.

¹²³ Parsons, following Sternberg, identifies a "primacy effect" in the initial presentation of Barnabas' character, whose positive introduction shapes the reader's response to him for the remainder of the narrative. M. Sternberg, *Exposition Modes and Temporal Ordering in Fiction* (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1978), 96; M.C. Parsons, "Christian Origins and Narrative Openings: The Sense of a Beginning in Acts 1-5," *Review and Expositor* 87 (1990): 403-22, 419.

Interestingly, Codex Bezae, which tends to presents characters in a more negative way, is quite complimentary to Barnabas. Furthermore, there is an interesting variant reading in Acts 1:23 (D 1831 it Vg Or^L Boh Eth) that exchanges the name Barnabas for Barsabbas as a possible replacement for Judas in the apostolate. For a thorough discussion, see J. Read-Heimerdinger, "Barnabas in Acts: A Study of His Role in the Text of Codex Bezae," *JSNT* 72 (1998): 23-66.

¹²⁴ Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 302.

¹²⁵ Luke describes Barnabas in 11:24 in the same way he did Stephen in 6:5, as one who is "full of the Holy Spirit and faith" (πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ πίστεως).

¹²⁶ Painter, *Just James*, 51.

Of particular importance for this study is the representation of Barnabas and Paul, and to a lesser extent John Mark and Silas, following their disagreement in Acts 15:36-40.¹²⁷ In this passage Luke recounts the divergence of Paul and Barnabas over the possible inclusion of John Mark in their mission party.¹²⁸ As in the Jerusalem council, this is another internal dispute within the Christian movement. Though it appears from the narrative that Luke may have favoured Paul's position,¹²⁹ it is clear that the dispute did not result for Luke in anyone's being ousted from the Christian community.¹³⁰ The main emphasis of the narrative, however, is that, even through conflict, God's providence provides for the continuing furtherance of the gospel message.¹³¹ As a result, the narrative continues to focus on and privilege the advancement of the gospel over apparent internal struggles within the community, while at the same time maintaining positive depictions of the characters having the dispute.

2.7 Summary

That the Acts narrative focuses on particular disciples and then moves to other followers is consistent with the formal structure of collected biographies as seen in

¹²⁷ Pervo (*Acts*, 386), claims, "This, not the council, is, in one sense, the watershed of Acts." For a discussion of Codex Bezae's additions, see E. Delebecque, "Silas Paul et Barnabé à Antioche selon le texte 'occidental' d'Actes 15,34 et 38," *RHPR* 64 (1984): 47-52.

¹²⁸ This is not the reason given in Gal 2:13. Here there is no mention of James, whose representation by Luke has been positive. For a discussion of the various conflict proposals and a potential chronology, see A.J.M. Wedderburn, "Paul and Barnabas: The Anatomy and Chronology of a Parting of the Ways," in I. Dunerberg, C. Tuckett, and K. Syreeni (eds.), *Fair Play: Diversity and Conflicts in Early Christianity: Essays in Honour of Heikki Räisänen* (SupNovT 103; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 291-310.

¹²⁹ This view is given because Barnabas and Mark are not mentioned in the remainder of the narrative, and that Paul and Silas were commended by the church in Antioch in the grace of the Lord (15:40), a blessing that is notably absent for Barnabas and John Mark. On the other hand, it is clear that Luke considers Barnabas to be a pivotal character within the early church and so is not at risk of abandoning this community.

Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger interestingly claim that Antioch does not approve of Paul's mission: "On the contrary, the more they understand of Paul's plan, which goes contrary to the plan of Jesus, the more they will realize that he needs divine grace." Unfortunately, they do not unpack the bold statement "which goes contrary to the plan of Jesus", nor indicate in what way Paul diverts from Jesus' plan. J. Rius-Camps and J. Read-Heimerdinger, *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae: A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition: Volume 3: Acts 13.1-18.23: The Ends of the Earth, First and Second Phases of the Mission to the Gentiles* (LNTS 365; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 240.

¹³⁰ It is possible that this episode actually reaffirms John Mark's place within the community. Although he is labelled by Paul as one who abandoned (ἄποστάντα) their work in Pamphylia (15:38, cf. 13:13), his renewed association with Barnabas, son of encouragement, clearly verifies his continued association with the church.

¹³¹ Haenchen, *Acts*, 474; Bruce, *Acts: Greek Text*, 350; Pervo, *Acts*, 387.

chapter five.¹³² Tannehill correctly notes Luke's modular segmentation of the narrative according to character, but at the same time rightly stresses the narrative's unity in terms of similarities in the characters' mission and message.¹³³ This emphasis on the message and mission, as opposed to a rigid focus on the individual, is characteristic of the thrust of collected biographies and provides the thread that binds the narrative into a cohesive whole in what might otherwise become a fragmented account.

By omitting numerous personal details and focusing on the relationships the character has with the master's teaching, and the larger Christian movement, Luke is paralleling the thrust and focus of collected biographies. Namely that, though a character's life and deeds are interesting, what is of greater importance is how these deeds and life fit within the larger movement and reflect the teaching of the master. These in-group members are further identified by their relationship with the Holy Spirit. Though this phenomenon is not paralleled in other collected biographies, its empowering function primarily identifies Christ followers and shows them to be intimately connected with their master, Jesus.

3. Those That Are Not (True) Disciples

In addition to identifying which disciples are congruent with the authoritative tradition, collected biographies occasionally made reference to those who were not "true" disciples or members, especially those whose association with the tradition may be in doubt. Notable examples can be drawn from Philostratus, who, in his discussion of sophists isolates particular characters as unworthy of inclusion or emulation. For example, when discussing Damianus of Ephesus, Philostratus exclaims, "Let me omit from [this record] such persons as Soter, Sosus, Nicander, Phaedrus, Cyrus, and Phylax, since these men would more properly be called the playthings of the Greeks than sophists worthy of mention" (*Vit. soph.* 605). Prior to this, Philostratus similarly dismisses other "sophists" who, despite their title, were not authentic members of the movement: "We will pass over Ariobarzanes of Cilicia,

¹³² For another interesting example, see Acts 21:16, which mentions Mnason and describes him as one of the earliest disciples (ἀρχαῖοι μαθηταί).

¹³³ Tannehill, *Acts*, 115.

Xenophron of Sicily, and Peithagoras of Cyrene, who showed no skill either in invention or in the expression of their ideas, though in the scarcity of first-rate sophists they were sought after by the Greeks of their day, as men seek after edible seeds when they are deprived of corn" (*Vit. soph.* 511). Thirdly, Philostratus condemns Varus of Laodicea and declares that he will not describe any teacher or pupil of his since he is not to be considered a sophist (*Vit. soph.* 620).

Similarly, Eunapius also expresses that only philosophers of note will be considered in his work, as it is not a satire (*Vit. phil.* 494). Nevertheless, Eunapius does single out Diophantus of Arabia as a person who forced his way into the ranks of philosophers but did not deserve to be there (*Vit. phil.* 494).¹³⁴

Diogenes Laertius, although primarily focusing on authentic disciples, occasionally identifies philosophers either outside of or who had left a particular tradition. In recounting Epicurus' disciples, Diogenes (10.6) states, "There was Timocrates, the brother of Metrodorus, who was his disciple and then left the school." Diogenes also recounts how Zeno chased away a pupil he thought was unworthy because of his arrogance (8.22), and takes pains to delineate which disciples were associated with various philosophers. In doing so he states that some disciples began with one philosopher, but then left to join a different school. For example, "Zeno and Empedocles were pupils of Parmenides about the same time, that afterwards they left him, and that, while Zeno framed his own system, Empedocles became the pupil of Anaxagoras and Pythagoras" (8.56).¹³⁵ Also, in Diogenes' discussion of Plato, he recalls how Plato was at odds with other disciples and sometimes also with Socrates (3.35-36).

Finally, some biographers included negative examples within their collection. The most notable illustration of this is Plutarch, who includes the lives of *Demetrius* and *Antony* as examples of people who are morally corrupt.¹³⁶ In his programmatic statement in *Dem.* 1.3-6, Plutarch praises the arts and their ability to encourage moral development by providing both positive and negative examples.

¹³⁴ Cf. Dionysius (*Comp.* 4) who does not want to mention philosophers who wrote poor textbooks.

¹³⁵ Some pupils were disciples of multiple philosophers. E.g., 6.85, 95.

¹³⁶ Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 45; Russell, *Plutarch*, 135.

3.1 Judas

Turning to Acts, the first act of the apostles was the selection of a twelfth disciple in lieu of Judas (1:15-26). Recent scholarship has identified different interpretive types to categorise Judas' role in Christianity (e.g., the incarnation of evil, a symbol of subversion, hero, etc.).¹³⁷ Although some categories function on the level of narrative,¹³⁸ many interpretations extrapolate theologically about what Judas embodies. This in itself is not a problem, but can take us beyond the confines of the text.

This focus on Judas at the beginning of the narrative is notable due to the important role he plays in Luke's gospel. Throughout Luke's first book Judas is considered one of the twelve close disciples of Jesus (Luke 6:16), and is identified as a follower of Jesus and a participant in his ministry (v. 17). However, after his betrayal Luke needs to affirm that Judas is no longer an authentic member of the movement.¹³⁹ This understanding is reinforced by the juxtaposition of the reference to Judas with the disciple list of 1:13-14.¹⁴⁰ The pairing of the authentic disciples with the official expulsion of Judas from the group highlights for the reader the fact that Judas is no longer an official member of the movement. Similarly, as Johnson has insightfully highlighted, that Judas isolates himself by purchasing a field with the betrayal money is in direct opposition to the actions of a true disciple, Barnabas (4:36-37), who sells his field and brings money into the community.¹⁴¹

Similarly, the qualifications for the selection of the replacement (Matthias) emphasise the desired characteristics of an appropriate surrogate: one who has been with Jesus throughout his ministry (1:21-22) and so can function as a guarantor of

¹³⁷ H.-J. Klauck, *Judas: Ein Jünger des Herrn* (QD 111; Freiburg: Herder, 1987), 17-32; W. Klassen, *Judas: Betrayer or Friend of Jesus?* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 4-10; A.W. Zwiep, *Judas and the Choice of Matthias: A Study on Context and Concern of Acts 1:15-26* (WUNT 2.187; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 8-13.

¹³⁸ An example of this would be the post-structuralist approach of K.T. Hughes, "Framing Judas," *Semeia* 54 (1991): 223-38.

¹³⁹ I disagree with Read-Heimerdinger ("Barnabas in Acts," 45) who suggests it was "the death of Judas that was the turning point, not his betrayal. The betrayal does not of itself disqualify Judas from his membership among the apostles" (emphasis hers).

¹⁴⁰ Some commentators see a strong link between the listing of the eleven (1:13), the Judas aside and the choosing of Matthias. For example, see Bock, *Acts*, 74-90.

¹⁴¹ Johnson, *Acts*, 40.

the Jesus-tradition.¹⁴² Although the narrative suggests that the motivation for adding Matthias was a symbolic and urgent eschatological expectancy to complete the circle of twelve,¹⁴³ this is perfectly compatible with Luke's making it abundantly clear through Judas' ignominious death that he was no longer part of the Christian movement and no longer a valid source/vehicle of Christian teaching.¹⁴⁴

In contradiction to Fitzmyer's statement "The way that Judas died is not important," I would contend that the type of death of a character is vitally important to shaping the reader's perception of that character.¹⁴⁵ In collected biographies, those whose lives are virtuous are often credited with long life,¹⁴⁶ and those whose lives are full of vice die early or viciously.¹⁴⁷ Accordingly, that Luke recounts a gruesome death for Judas (one in which his entrails gush out, ἐλάκησεν μέσον καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ, 1:18-19) speaks volumes regarding how Luke wishes to frame his character.¹⁴⁸

3.2 Ananias and Sapphira

Another scene of disassociation can be found in Acts 5 with Ananias and Sapphira. Just prior to this episode Acts 4:32-37 recounts the communality between believers where those who have a house or field sell it to assist those in need. The model of this behaviour, according to Luke, is Joseph (called Barnabas) who sells his plot of land and lays the money he receives from it at the feet of the apostles (4:36-37). In

¹⁴² Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 121; Estrada, *From Followers to Leaders*, 47-48.

¹⁴³ Conzelmann, *Theology*, 95-97; Zwiep, *Judas*, 172-73; Dunn, *Beginning From Jerusalem*, 152. Contra Estrada, *From Followers to Leaders*, 151, who claims that the inclusion of Matthias into the twelve is not about the group's reconstitution, but as part of the "challenge-riposte" of the ritual of status transformation.

¹⁴⁴ It is notable that after this brief episode Judas is absent from the remainder of the narrative. It is possible, although highly unlikely, that this emphatic black-listing of Judas within the Acts narrative prefigures or reacts to a growing movement of venerating/absolving Judas (i.e., *Gospel of Judas*). N.T. Wright, *The Resurrection and the Son of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 659; C.K. Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology: The Lord in the Gospel of Luke* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 206.

¹⁴⁵ Fitzmyer, *Acts of the Apostles*, 220.

¹⁴⁶ Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 494, 506, 515. Cf. Theon, *Prog.* 94.

¹⁴⁷ Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 500-501, 502. For more examples, see Chitwood, *Death by Philosophy*, 141-42.

¹⁴⁸ A similar example is Herod Antipas in 12:23, whose body is consumed by worms (σκωληκόβρωτος). Negative characters often have violent deaths. see the list of examples in Barrett, *Acts*, 1.591-92; Allen, *Death of Herod*.

The Greek word for death used for Ananias (5:5), Sapphira (5:10), and Herod (12:23), ἐξέψυξεν, is only used here in the New Testament (although in Jdg A 4:21 LXX, it is used for the death of Sisara by Jael).

the verses prior to Barnabas (4:32-35) as well as earlier in the chapter (4:24-30), Luke progressively unveils what it means to be part of the Christian community.¹⁴⁹

Following this presentation of the model example of Barnabas, Luke starkly contrasts it with the counter episode of Ananias and Sapphira, who sell a property and deceptively place only some of the proceeds at the feet of Peter.¹⁵⁰ Their deception, however, is uncovered and both fall dead at the rebuke of Peter (5:5, 10). In his rebuke of Ananias, Peter states that Ananias' heart has been co-opted by Satan (διὰ τί ἐπλήρωσεν ὁ σατανᾶς τὴν καρδίαν σου), indicating that he has been separated from the Holy Spirit (5:3).¹⁵¹ This separation from the Holy Spirit and imbuing of Satan wholly removes Ananias (and presumably Sapphira as well) from the Christian community, despite the fact that they were supposedly selling their property for the betterment of the group. This illustrates the fact that it is not just the actions that are indicative of being part of the movement, but also the motivations and reasons associated with those actions.

Peterson posits that “the particular purpose of the Ananias and Sapphira narrative is to explain more fully why ‘everyone was filled with awe’ (2:43).”¹⁵² Although this may be the case, I propose that it also functions as a removal of false disciples from the “in” group. In this scene, Ananias and Sapphira are rebuked by the leading member of the Christian community, Peter. And though it is not explicit where Peter gets his knowledge from—presumably the Holy Spirit¹⁵³—his words of rebuke are supported by supernatural power. Consequently, Luke portrays God, through Peter, as ensuring the integrity of his followers. Directly after this episode, the Acts narrative shifts its focus to the disciples, especially Peter, and reinforces his prominence within the movement through miraculous signs and healings (5:12-16).¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Peterson, *Acts*, 203.

¹⁵⁰ I disagree with Barrett (*Acts*, 1.262) who, based on a narrow interpretation of 4:34, claims: “The story in fact does not fit neatly into the context in which Luke has placed it.” Parsons (*Acts*, 72-76) and Pervo (*Acts*, 129) suggest that 4:32-5:11 is one unit.

¹⁵¹ Like Judas (Luke 22:3), Ananias fell prey to Satan, and like Judas he will not live to enjoy his illicit gains.

¹⁵² Peterson, *Acts*, 207. Marguerat goes further by claiming that Luke was trying to provoke fear within his readers. Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, 155.

¹⁵³ Pervo (*Acts*, 133) claims that Peter, like Jesus, can read minds. In *Acts of Peter* 20 the narrator makes it explicit that Peter speaks on behalf of Jesus, “Through me he [Jesus] says to you.”

¹⁵⁴ Marguerat (*The First Christian Historian*, 159) is correct in his suggestion that the miraculous is being emphasised in these sections. I would further this proposal by claiming that Luke's association of miraculous deeds with the apostles and Peter affirms their central place within the Christian community.

3.3 *Simon Magus*

The next confrontation with a potential insider occurs with Simon Magus in Acts 8:9-24.¹⁵⁵ In this scene, Luke begins with an interaction between Philip and Simon which results in Simon's believing in Jesus, being baptised, and associating with Philip (8:13). Immediately following this statement, the scene shifts to the disciples in Jerusalem, who, upon hearing the report that Samaritans have received the gospel, send Peter and John to investigate and bring the gift of the Holy Spirit. Simon, having witnessed the giving of the Holy Spirit, then tries to buy this authority from Peter and John (8:19).¹⁵⁶ This is met with a strong rebuke by Peter who exclaims, "You have no part or portion in this matter, for your heart is not right before God" (οὐκ ἔστιν σοι μερίς οὐδὲ κλῆρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, ἡ γὰρ καρδιά σου οὐκ ἔστιν εὐθεΐα ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ, 8:21).¹⁵⁷ Simon begs Peter to pray to God on his behalf, but the narrative ends without relieving this tension.¹⁵⁸

Although the episode does not clearly indicate whether or not Simon is granted absolution by Peter, it is the chastising statement from Peter in v. 19 that characterises the discourse.¹⁵⁹ That Peter's decision is not reversed further suggests to the reader that Simon remains outside of the circle of true believers.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, "The fact that Simon the Magician offers to pay Peter and John to obtain the authority to bestow the Spirit confirms his recognition of the undergirding

¹⁵⁵ Johnson also sees this episode as the third in which a possible insider acts in an opposing manner to the Christian movement. The notable difference between Simon and the others is that Simon's death is not reported. Johnson, *Acts*, 152. A parallel episode is Paul's interaction with Bar-Jesus (13:6-12) which parallels the supernatural and magician connections of the Petrine narrative (Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 217-18). One notable difference is that Bar-Jesus never converts to Christianity, but is always portrayed as an outsider and a force of opposition to Paul.

¹⁵⁶ *Acts Peter* 23 claims that Simon was also confronted by Paul in Jerusalem.

¹⁵⁷ Note also the previous reference to heart by Peter in the Ananias and Sapphira episode (5:3) and the contrast of these episodes with the statement in 4:32: "All who believed were one in heart and soul".

¹⁵⁸ In Codex D there is an addition "who did not stop weeping copiously" (ἐπ' ἐμὲ ὧν εἰρήκατε), which could be taken as a sign of remorse, or as the Clementian tradition claims, tears of rage and disappointment (*Clem. Hom.* 10.20-22; Rufinus, *Clem. Recogn.* 10.63).

¹⁵⁹ It is possible that Simon did repent; however, that is not within the confines of the text. Witherington questions whether or not Simon was converted in the first place citing Luke's pejorative representation of Simon throughout the narrative. Witherington, *Acts*, 288-89; *contra* Johnson, *Acts*, 152.

¹⁶⁰ The *Acts of Peter* is evidence that some Christian traditions continued to understand Simon Magus as one who was in opposition to the Christian faith.

divine authorization of Peter.”¹⁶¹ Although it is clear from the above discussion that Philip is also a Spirit-carrying member, Luke reinforces the prominence of Peter through this encounter. Conversely, Luke, in his delineation of Christian members, excludes Simon as his request has betrayed the state of his heart, proving that he has no place within the Christian movement.¹⁶²

3.4 *The Seven Sons of Sceva*

Finally, a particularly interesting example of Luke’s delineation of in and out groups is the episode of the seven sons of Sceva in Acts 19:13-17. This narrative is situated in Luke’s account of Paul’s successful mission in Ephesus in which he performs many works of power. After recounting some of the more sensational miracles, the narrative shifts to the seven sons of a Jewish chief priest, Sceva (19:14). Here one of the sons attempts an exorcism, stating, “I adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preaches” (ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν Παῦλος κηρύσσει, 19:13).¹⁶³ However, instead of being exorcised, the demon overpowers them after exclaiming, “I recognise Jesus, and I know about Paul, but who are you?” (τὸν [μὲν] Ἰησοῦν γινώσκω καὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἐπίσταμαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνες ἐστέ, 19:15).

This episode is intriguing as it is the only time in the Luke-Acts narrative in which a failed exorcism by an outsider is explicitly recounted. Furthermore, the episode plainly depicts outsiders attempting to use (Christian) names which they think contained power to exercise demons.¹⁶⁴ That Luke recounts the fact that these Jewish outsiders acknowledge the high cosmic status of Jesus and his representative Paul further solidifies Paul’s principal role in the Christian movement.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ Peter D. McCabe, “How to Kill Things with Words: Ananias and Sapphira Under the Apostolic-Prophetic Speech-Act of Divine Judgment (Acts 4:32–5:11)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 2008), 175.

¹⁶² Barrett, *Acts*, 1.414. This view is embodied within *Acts of Peter* 4-29 where Simon is the agent of evil.

¹⁶³ Codex D presents an expanded story with the use of the first person plural. For a discussion of the evidence, see B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 417-18; Pervo, *Acts*, 475.

¹⁶⁴ The perceived power of names is well documented within magical texts. For an example see PGM 4.3010-29.

¹⁶⁵ T. Klutz, *The Exorcism Stories in Luke-Acts: A Sociostylistic Reading* (SNTSMS 129; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 233.

The chief aspect of this story is that Luke impresses upon his readers the idea that in and out group delineations are so fundamentally important that even the forces of evil are knowledgeable about the authentic members of the Christian community. Accordingly, the evil spirits know of both Jesus and Paul, but are unaffected by the words of outsiders,¹⁶⁶ despite the fact that they may have had previous success in exorcisms.¹⁶⁷

3.5 Summary

Seeing Acts as a collected biography helps us recognise why Luke included these characters in his narrative. Collected biographies do not only mention those who are members of the in-group; it is sometimes necessary to differentiate and label characters on the periphery in order to indicate into which camp they fall. This labelling might be needed for any number of reasons; however, the most prominent one would be to ensure that there is no confusion about these characters' association, either by insiders or outsiders who happen to read the work. By including such characters in his work Luke is able to help his readers know how to view foreign exorcists, and people who are not truthful or faithful to the community.

Conclusion

Overall, although Acts portrays individuals who are antagonistic and hostile to the Christian movement, there is a clear focus on disciples, apostles, and believers who are members of the Way. This emphasis on a movement's adherents and the advancement of its message is understandable and parallels the foci of other collected biographies.

The opening of Acts, for example, explicitly links the actions and teachings of the disciples with the continuation of Jesus' ministry in a way that is parallel to the

¹⁶⁶ "The implication is that the *name of Jesus* was effective to deliver and to heal only when used by those who genuinely called upon Jesus as Lord." Peterson, *Acts*, 538, emphasis his.

¹⁶⁷ It is possible that the story suggests that this was not the first (but certainly the last) time that these sons had used the name of Jesus for exorcisms. A.M. Reimer, *Miracle and Magic: A Study of the Acts of the Apostles and the Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (JSNTS 235; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 75.

connection of philosophers and their disciples. Furthermore, there is a strong emphasis on delineating Jesus' followers, most notably through disciple lists (1:13-14; 6:5; 13:1; 20:4) and successive portrayals, which are akin to devices found throughout collected biographies. In addition to identifying which disciples are representative of the authoritative tradition, collected biographies occasionally made reference to those who were not "true" disciples or members. Luke also segregates those characters that might appear to be part of the Christian movement, but in actuality are not (e.g., Judas, Ananias and Sapphira, Simon Magus, and the sons of Sceva).

Though the above investigation has focused on the demarcation of in and out groups in Acts, this interpretation is not the *only* one available. There are other interpretive insights to be found in these passages, although the delineation of in and out groups needs to be taken into consideration when reading Acts. For example, the selection of a twelfth disciple in Acts 1 can function eschatologically or symbolically (the reconstitution of the twelve tribes of Israel), but also clearly delineates the authoritative members of the group.

Finally, all of the negative disciples/examples interact with either Peter or Paul. Although this interaction is probably due to the larger amount of narrative assigned to these two disciples, its importance for delineating groups should not be missed. By having the dominant figures of the Christian movement confront and/or pass judgement on these opponents, Luke clearly portrays their exclusion from the Christian community. It is to the investigation of these two main characters that we now turn in chapter seven.

CHAPTER 7: PETER, PAUL AND THE ENDING OF ACTS

In the previous chapter we began to discuss how Luke's evaluation and framing of characters delineated the in-groups and out-groups of the early church in Acts. This chapter builds on that discussion, focusing primarily on the presentation of Peter and Paul and how Luke made use of extended narrative sections to show their importance within the early church and that they are the key holders of the Jesus tradition. Finally, this chapter finishes with an evaluation of the conclusion of the Acts narrative, claiming that the ending of Acts is an intentional literary feature by the author not a result of external or temporal challenges. The calculated omission of Paul's death and the final emphasis on the preaching of the kingdom of God and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ (Acts 28:31) reinforce the prominence of the founder Jesus and his message and reinforce also Paul's identity as a "true" disciple.

Peter and Paul

As was discussed in chapter five, a majority of the Acts narrative focuses on the characters Peter and Paul.¹ This has become an interpretive issue for Acts scholars, some of whom lament the fact that other disciples are not given equal space. This section begins by recounting the findings in chapter five in order to address the question of why Peter and Paul are given so much narrative and how this fits with the collected biography tradition. Following this, particular aspects of Luke's representations of Peter and Paul will be discussed, particularly in light of their role(s) within the larger Acts narrative.

1. Prominent Disciples in Ancient Biographies

Although collected biographies primarily center on founders and original leaders of movements, a significant portion of the works also focus on disciples and followers. Yet within this section dedicated to the followers, not all disciples are portrayed equally or given equal space in the account. Understandably, it is the more important

¹ See also Burrige, *What are the Gospels?*, 238, 320; idem. "Genre of Acts."

and eminent of disciples, those who are either particularly steadfast to their master's teaching or are notable in their own right, who receive the largest amount of narrative space.² Although the amount of biographical material available to the author likely contributed to the space accorded to a character within the narrative,³ it is also probable that Luke and other pagan authors wished to highlight certain characters and so afforded them greater space in the narrative. For a full discussion of space allocation, see chapter five and appendix three.

This allocation is readily apparent in Diogenes who often identifies a philosopher's eminent disciples.⁴ For example, in 6.15 Diogenes, describing the founder Antisthenes, says of his predominant disciples, "[Antisthenes] led the way to the indifference of Diogenes, the self-control of Crates, and the strength of Zeno." Then, following his portrayal of Antisthenes, Diogenes proceeds to describe these disciples, in that order, dedicating significant space to each.⁵ Diogenes also includes Antisthenes' lesser disciples, but does not foreshadow them in such a way.⁶ A similar pattern is also found in book seven. Within a lengthy discussion of Zeno, Diogenes recounts a sizeable disciple list (7.36-38), which introduces all but one of Zeno's disciples, whose lives are recounted in later narratives in almost exact sequence.⁷ The only disciple who is not in this list is the most prominent, Chrysippus, who, although absent in the inventory, frames the list of other disciples (7.35, 39), and has the largest disciple section in book seven (7.179-202).

Furthermore, as mentioned in the discussion of characters in collected biography above, prominent disciples and those who are particularly faithful to their master's teaching are favoured with extended coverage within the larger narrative. To recall, Aulus Gellius (*Noct. att.* 13.5.1-12) provides a narrative account of the succession of Aristotle in which his two most prominent disciples, Theophrastus of Lesbos and Eudemus of Rhodes, are considered for Aristotle's possible successor. Although not

² It is quite possible that for ancient writers the most well-known followers had the most life details recalled purely because they were the most famous.

³ Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 27.

⁴ Diogenes, 6.85; 7.36-38; 10.22.

⁵ Although Diogenes expresses that these three are disciples of Antisthenes, only Diogenes (6.20-81) and Crates (6.85-93) are included in book six. Zeno, who is a philosophical founder in his own right (Stoics), immediately follows and his description takes up almost the whole of book seven (7.1-160).

⁶ For example, Minimus 6.82-83; Onesicritus 6.84; Metrocles 6.94-95; Hipparchia 6.96-98; Menippus 6.99-101; Menedemus 6.102-105. Cf. Diogenes 1.15.

⁷ Ariston 7.160-64; Herillus 7.165-66; Dionysius 7.166-67; Sphaerus 177-78; and Cleanthes 168-76.

part of collected biographies, Philo's *Vita Mosis* rarely mentions other biblical characters, but focuses almost exclusively on Moses. However, 1.216 mentions Joshua, whom Moses appointed as general to fight the advancing Phoenicians, and no other possible rivals to his leadership.⁸ Another example is from Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life* 189-94, in which two named disciples, Myllias and his pregnant wife Timycha, sacrifice themselves in order that they might not betray their master's teaching.

Equally as important as the length of narrative is the positive depiction of the disciple in formative events. In his *Life of Plotinus*, Porphyry consistently references his "special" relationship with his master and recounts any number of events in which he played an important role (e.g., *Plot.* 15, 18, 23). Furthermore, Porphyry makes special mention of Amelius, who was with Plotinus the longest (e.g., *Plot.* 1, 5, 19-20). Another ancient example would be the defence of Socrates by his two most famous disciples, Xenophon and Plato, who defended their master in their writings (further discussed below).⁹ Likewise, Marinus of Neapolis was the most notable disciple of Proclus, wrote a biography of his master,¹⁰ and took over his school upon his death.¹¹

Diogenes Laertius provides an excellent parallel as his work is based on the student-teacher relationship. Diogenes typically opens each life with an indication of the individual's philosophical relationships, particularly who his teacher was. For example, in each life of book 2 Diogenes states who each follower learned from and that each philosopher followed their master's teaching (here Socrates; 2.3, 6, 16, 19, 48, 60, 65, 105, 106, 113, 121, 122, 125).¹² Likewise in 6.19 Diogenes begins to recount the Cynics and Stoics who follow in the teaching of Antisthenes (Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς ἀπ' Ἀριστίππου διεληλύθαμεν καὶ Φαίδωνος, νῦν ἐλκύσωμεν τοὺς ἀπ' Ἀντισθένους κυνικοὺς τε καὶ στωικοὺς.). What is important here is not only that Diogenes recounts a philosopher's disciples, but that he explicitly states that it should

⁸ Feldman, *Philo's Portrayal of Moses*, 208-12.

⁹ Xenophon, *Apology*; Plato, *Apology*.

¹⁰ *Suda* M 198, ἔγραψε βίον Πρόκλου τοῦ αὐτοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ καταλογάδην καὶ ἐπικῶς.

¹¹ *Suda* M 199, Μαρῖνος: οὗτος τὴν Πρόκλου διατριβὴν παραδεξάμενος καὶ Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους λόγων. Proclus, *Comm. Tim.* 1.16.8-10 discusses Plato's characters as types of what is proper for a disciple.

¹² The two exceptions are Simmias (2.124) and Cebes (2.125), whose sections are very short and only tell their citizenship and the works that they produced.

be in a particular order (καὶ ἐχέτω ὥδε). In this case, Antisthenes' most famous disciple (Diogenes) was placed first.¹³

These examples support the idea that prominent disciples and those particularly close to their master or faithful to their master's teachings are given proportionally more narrative space than other disciples in collected biographies.¹⁴ This does not exclude the likelihood that authors/compiler of tradition selected the material based on their own interpretations, preferences and purposes. Rather, such proportional representation informs us that a sufficient body of tradition was maintained about these particular disciples and that previous writers/biographers must have propagated these details due to their perceived importance.¹⁵ Although the selection and framing of material was ultimately up to the author, these examples suggest that there was more extant biographical material about prominent members of movements than about others. It is with this in mind that we evaluate the space attributed to Peter and Paul in Luke-Acts.

2. Narrative Allocation in Acts

As the above examples indicate, important disciples in collected biographies are champions of their masters' teachings. This might be demonstrated in faithful promulgation of their messages, living according to the masters' model, or likely a combination of both. Often disciples have disciples of their own and pass on the teachings of their master adding their own interpretations, but ultimately attributing their message to the founder. However, sometimes one of the disciples' teachings

¹³ In 8.91 Diogenes states that he only recount the lives of famous Pythagoreans (ἐλλογίμων Πυθαγορικῶν).

¹⁴ Geiger (*Cornelius Nepos*, 27), discussing collected biographies states: "We much also consider relative importance of the various heroes in a series: not only does Suetonius very properly accord much less space to the combined *Lives* of Galba, Otho and Vitellius (crammed into a single book) than to Caesar or Augustus, who have each a lengthy book devoted to him, but one may also consider the inordinate length of the *Life* of Herodes Atticus (and, a close second, of Polemo) in comparison with the other, lesser sophists in Philostratus."

¹⁵ Christodorus of Coptus, *On the Disciples of the Great Proclus*, FGH 1084 F 2; Nicias of Nicaea, Διαδοκαί; P.Herc. 1021, col. 4.1a-15; P.Herc. 164, F 12; Nicander of Alexandria, *On Aristotle's Disciples* (*Suda* AI 354; FGH 1112); Aristoxenus, Περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ. These works, although mostly lost, support the view that there was interest in identifying and delineating the disciples/followers of a philosopher or other leader.

diverges enough for it to grow and develop into its own independent school. In this case, the disciple then becomes the master and founder of a new movement.

This breaking away did not happen with Peter and Paul, although it does appear, both in Acts and the Pauline letters, that Peter and Paul may have headed two distinct groups within the earliest Christian community.¹⁶ Nevertheless, in Acts, Luke did not portray these two groups as contending for exclusive claims to Christianity. Rather, he portrays them as willing to submit and agree to certain principles in both the Jewish and gentile missions.¹⁷

When comparing the narratives of Peter and Paul in Acts to those of notable disciples/characters in other collected biographies it is apparent that Luke provides his leading figures with substantially more events described and a more thorough portrayal of character. Some scholars have contended that Luke's dedication of so much of the narrative to these two characters muddies the identification of genre and challenges the assigned title of "Acts of the Apostles."¹⁸ Identifying Acts as "the history of the early church," also fails to acknowledge the now-unknown number and size of early Christian communities that are not represented in Acts. Though some scholars have correctly identified the differences between Acts and other collected biographies, their un-nuanced understanding of the flexibility of genre prohibits them from thinking outside of their generic boxes. Furthermore, the discussion of subject allocation in chapter five indicates that it was not uncommon for a few disciples to dominate the majority of the narrative. In chapter four we also emphasised the strong relationship between biography and history and the influence that the history genre had on the formal features of biography, particularly in light of its prestigious position as the dominant prose genre in the first century AD.

The extended narratives in Acts are to be understood in light of this influential relationship: Luke made use of an identifiable feature (extended prose narrative) of the dominant, prestigious genre (history) and incorporated it into his biography. Luke's expansive narratives about Peter and especially Paul deviate from the standard configuration of collected biography in which disciples receive limited

¹⁶ See now Hengel, *Saint Peter*, who makes much of a two-movement structure of earliest Christianity, each ascribed to Peter or Paul.

¹⁷ The Jerusalem council (Acts 15:1-35) would be the most notable example.

¹⁸ Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 45.

exposure and compressed narratives. Rather, Luke's depictions appear more akin to the presentation of characters in some of the larger collected biographies and history works.¹⁹ This does not mean that the incorporation of non-biographical (history) features into Acts automatically eliminates Acts being labelled a biography, but that Luke's use of extended narrative blurs the generic boundaries between biography and history.²⁰ It is this blurring of boundaries that has resulted in scholarly confusion.

There are a number of possible reasons that may have motivated Luke to make such a change, although we will never be able to know with absolute certainty. First, it is a possibility, although unlikely, that Luke's use of sources dictated the final form of Acts. Although I agree with the idea that Luke made use of sources for his work,²¹ and am not against the idea that his sources may have been in narrative form, I do not think that this would have obligated Luke to craft Acts in the form we have received. Second, it is possible that Luke wished to gain a greater hearing and audience for his work and so imbued it with long narratives as a recognizable feature from the dominant prose genre (history). This may have increased the prestige of the work to make it more palatable to a great number of readers. Although I think that this is part of the answer, it is insufficient for understanding the whole picture, especially when considering that Luke's composition conformed to the standard Hellenistic prose style.²²

Third, it is also possible that Luke felt that the collected biography as a whole was too constricting a genre for painting the picture of the early church the way he wanted. Collected biography tends towards short, discrete units in which a particular disciple/follower is portrayed. This, however, does not leave sufficient space for mapping inter-disciple interaction and the widespread advancement of the Christian faith in the way that is facilitated by a larger narrative. Similarly, typical collected

¹⁹ See, for example, the representation of characters in Josephus' *Antiquities*.

²⁰ Although it is the genre of history that has the most consistent use of extended narrative, a number of individual biographies also have extended narrative sections, which Luke could have drawn from.

²¹ For a discussion of Luke's use of the "we" source in Acts, see S.A. Adams, "Luke and Paul" in S.E. Porter (ed.), *Paul and His Social Relations* (PAST 7; Leiden: Brill, 2011), forthcoming.

²² Loveday Alexander, "Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio: Albert Wifstrand and the Language of Luke-Acts," in *Acts in its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles* (LNTS 289; ECC; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 231-52; Wifstrand, *Epochs and Styles*, 17-27; S.A. Adams, "Atticism, Classicism and Luke-Acts: Discussions with Albert Wifstrand and Loveday Alexander," in S.E. Porter and A.W. Pitts (eds.), *Greek Language and Its Development* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2011), forthcoming.

biography sharply curtails the interaction between belief and action that so characterises Luke's representation of the Christian movement.

Overall, I would propose that all three of these factors influenced Luke in his creating of Acts. No one answer completely satisfies; however, used in tandem these factors provide a plausible motivation for Luke's deviation from the typical form of contemporary collected biography. Once loosed from the restriction of short narratives, Luke was free to expand the narrative and focus on the actions of Peter and Paul at greater length, highlighting their foundational role in the formation of the different Christian communities and establishing them as true disciples and exemplary followers of Jesus. It is to these two characters that we now turn.

2.1 *Peter*

Much of the discussion of Peter's role in Acts has been covered in chapter six in which we dealt with his interaction and relationship with the apostles, John, and other characters. Nevertheless, from Acts 9 onwards, Peter acts on his own, separately from the other apostles.²³ The fact that so much of the early Acts narrative is dedicated to Peter, however, leaves no doubt about his importance as a leader in the earliest community.²⁴ Therefore, it is important to recall some of the previous discussion in order to provide a full interpretation of Peter's character.

First mentioned at the head of the disciple list in Acts 1:13, Peter takes charge of the early believers, acts as the lead representative of the apostles through his speech in 1:15, which initiated the replacement of Judas among the apostles.²⁵ Similarly, in Acts 2, Peter is the representative apostle who addresses the inquisitive crowd at Pentecost and leads the healing of the cripple and corresponding preaching at Solomon's Colonnade (Acts 3). To reiterate, in both of these narratives, and for the remainder of Acts, Peter is the most authoritative disciple who has seen Jesus. This fact is not only derived from the discussion in Acts 1, but also from Luke's gospel in which Peter acts as the lead representative of the disciples.²⁶

²³ Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 128.

²⁴ P. Perkins, *Peter: Apostle for the Whole Church* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 88.

²⁵ Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 128; Dunn, *Beginning*, 308.

²⁶ Hengel, *Saint Peter*, 75.

A particularly noteworthy aspect of Luke's portrayal of Peter occurs in 4:13 where rulers, elders, scribes, and the high priest marvel at Peter and John's speaking ability and attribute their ability to their time with Jesus (ἐθαύμαζον ἐπεγίνωσκόν τε αὐτοὺς ὅτι σὺν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἦσαν).²⁷ In this episode Luke clearly differentiates Peter and John from the Jewish leadership by showing that the disciples received training outside of official Jewish circles.²⁸ Similarly, Luke has the Jewish leaders and opponents of Christians (correctly) identify Peter as a member of the Way through his association with and training from Jesus. Furthermore, this boldness (παρρησίαν) that characterises Peter's association with Jesus continues throughout the narrative to be a distinguishing mark of true followers of Jesus (4:29, 31; 9:28; 13:46; 14:3; 18:26; 26:26; 28:31).

In his next encounter with the high priest and Sadducees, Peter responds by claiming that God's Spirit, as a definitive marker of Jesus' followers, remains on those who obey (καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν μάρτυρες τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς πειθαρχοῦσιν αὐτῷ, Acts 5:32). This is an important statement for understanding the role of the Holy Spirit in the narrative of Acts. Here Luke is showing that the presence and positive actions of the Spirit are indicative of a person's adherence to Jesus and are a sign of their inclusion in the Christian faith.²⁹ Accordingly, the Spirit-enacted miracles performed by Peter, in combination with his continual proclamation and witness of Jesus, clearly indicate his primary role in the Christian movement.

This pairing of Peter with the Holy Spirit can be found throughout the Acts narrative.³⁰ Luke continually identifies and portrays Peter as a faithful disciple of Jesus who, accordingly, is empowered by the Holy Spirit. Prior to Peter's statement in 5:32, Peter had been filled with the Spirit three times (2:4; 4:8, 31), had healed a lame man (3:6-7), another person with his shadow (5:15), and had been instrumental in the deaths of Ananias and Sapphira (5:5, 10). Similarly, after Peter's statement in

²⁷ Padilla rightfully emphasises the intended comparison between Peter and the Jewish leaders through an evaluation of their speeches. O. Padilla, *The Speeches of Outsiders in Acts: Poetics, Theology and Historiography* (SNTSMS 144; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 112.

²⁸ Bock, *Acts*, 196.

²⁹ Hur provides a good example of this through his tracing of the reference to the Holy Spirit in Luke and Acts. Ju Hur, *A Dynamic Reading of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup 211; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), esp. 223-70.

³⁰ Hengel (*Saint Peter*, 101), rightly calls Peter "the empowered guarantor of the traditions about Jesus." See also *Acts Peter* 28.

5:32 Peter (with John) was responsible for bestowing the Holy Spirit on the Samaritan converts (8:14), healing the cripple Aeneas (9:34), raising Tabitha from the dead (9:40), having a vision in which he speaks with the Lord (10:9-16, and the Spirit 11:12), preaching to Cornelius' household at which time the Holy Spirit came and Peter ordered them to be baptised (10:34-48), and was rescued from prison by an angel (12:3-11). These numerous references to the Holy Spirit's empowering of Peter continually reaffirm Peter's privileged place within the early church and act as a seal of approval for his actions.

This approval is not only indicated by the presence of the Holy Spirit, but also through Peter's intimate relationship with and leadership of the apostles. There is considerable emphasis at the beginning of Acts on the apostles as teachers, with Peter acting as their primary spokesman.³¹ This stress on teaching first emerges in 2:42 where the new believers devote themselves to the apostles' teaching (ἤσαν δὲ προσκατεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων; cf. 2:46).³² In the subsequent narratives, the apostles' teaching activities continue to be mentioned frequently (4:2, 31, 33; 5:20-21, 28, 42), the effects of which result in the choosing of the seven in 6:1-7 to facilitate the twelve's teaching role. Although the twelve are portrayed as collectively teaching both the people and converts, it is primarily Peter who is their representative as none of the other original twelve are given speaking roles in Acts. Nevertheless, there is a strong connection between Peter and the apostles in Acts 1-8; Peter never works or preaches alone; there is always a reference in the same verse or the immediate context to other apostles (especially John).³³

However, following Saul's conversion in Acts 9 there is a change in Peter's narrational representation. From this point onwards Peter is no longer tethered to the apostles, nor does he speak on their behalf; rather, Peter acts and functions as a discrete character. Accordingly, the miracles in Acts 9:32-43—outworkings of the Holy Spirit which are superior to his earlier miracles—are attributed only to him.³⁴ Peter, moreover, is the sole recipient of a vision in Acts 10:9-15, and although Peter

³¹ Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 123; Padilla, *Speeches*, 111. This is a continuation of Peter's role in Luke's gospel: Luke 8:45; 9:20, 33; 12:41; 18:28; 22:31.

³² Note the possible parallels with Jesus teaching in the temple: Luke 2:46; 19:47; 21:37; 22:52.

³³ Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 128-29.

³⁴ Again we see parallels between Peter's miracles and Jesus' ministry and the raising of Jairus' daughter in Luke 8:51. Dunn, *Beginning From Jerusalem*, 381.

is accompanied by some brethren from Joppa to Cornelius' house, it is clear that they do not share his authority. Finally, in Acts 11, where Peter's actions with the gentiles are challenged by the circumcision group, "Peter is portrayed not as a representative of the apostles, but as one whom God has led forward beyond the thinking of the Jerusalem group."³⁵

Having provided an overview of Peter's activities in Acts, it is time to take a more detailed look at a particular episode. Of special importance to the Acts narrative are Peter's interaction with Cornelius—facilitating the spread of the gospel to the gentiles (10:1-48)—and his defence of his actions to the circumcision group (11:1-18).³⁶ These narratives epitomise Peter's function within the Acts narrative and affirm Peter's role as an authoritative gatekeeper of the Christian faith, a typical of important disciples in collected biographies.

Although it has been argued that Philip's preaching to the Ethiopian eunuch was the first time that the gospel was received by a gentile,³⁷ Luke's emphasis and triple reporting of the Cornelius episode cements its importance in the larger narrative.³⁸ Prefaced by Peter's miraculous actions in Joppa (9:43), the Cornelius episode begins by describing how Cornelius is visited by an angel of God, who instructs him to enquire after a man named Peter who is residing with Simon the tanner (Acts 10:1-8). The next day, as Cornelius' men approach Simon's house, Peter falls into a trance in which God tells Peter three times not to call anything impure that God has made holy (ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν, σὺ μὴ κοίνου; 10:15). The meaning of the vision is not

³⁵ Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 130.

³⁶ For a discussion on the scholarly debates over composition and sources, see Barrett, *Acts*, 1.491-98; M. Dibelius, "The Conversion of Cornelius," in *The Book of Acts: Form, Style, and Theology* (ed. K.C. Hanson; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004 [1956]), 140-50.

³⁷ Spencer, *Portrait of Philip*, 186-87; Conzelmann, *Acts*, 67-68; *contra* Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 70-71.

³⁸ R. Barthes rightly emphasises the role of repetition and the transmission of what happened for the structure of this episode. R. Barthes, "L'analyse structurale du récit à propos d'Actes X-XI," *RSR* 58 (1970): 17-37; Barrett, *Acts*, 1.533.

Directly after the Cornelius narrative, Luke reports that the apostles and brethren in Judea heard that the word of the Lord had been received by the gentiles. This narrative insertion clearly indicates that the events of the previous story (rather than the Philip/Ethiopian eunuch narrative) marked a turning point in the relationship between the gentiles and the gospel in Acts' storyline. Tannehill (*Acts*, 2.134-35) makes an interesting suggestion that it was necessary for the apostles to complete Jesus' commission of 1:8 and take the gospel to the ends of the earth. As a result, though the Ethiopian eunuch was the first gentile to be converted, it was imperative that Luke emphasise Peter's role (as one of the apostles) in this boundary-crossing fulfillment of 1:8.

immediately clear to Peter,³⁹ so the Holy Spirit informs him not to hesitate to go with Cornelius' men (10:19-20). Having heard Cornelius recall his vision, Peter begins to preach the message of Jesus to the gathered household, during which time the Holy Spirit falls on all who are listening (ἔτι λαλοῦντος τοῦ Πέτρου τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐπέπεσεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸν λόγον; 10:44). The circumcised believers accompanying Peter—importantly not Peter himself—are amazed (ἐξέστησαν; 10:45), and Peter orders them to baptise the gentiles into the Christian faith (10:47-48).

Acts says that word of this event spread rapidly to the apostles and the brothers in Judea. Accordingly, when Peter arrived in Jerusalem he was confronted by circumcised believers, who chastised him for entering the house of uncircumcised men and eating with them (11:2-3). Peter recounted the events and concluded with the defence, “If God gave them the same gift as he gave us, who believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I to think that I could oppose God?” (εἰ οὖν τὴν ἴσην δωρεὰν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ὥς καὶ ἡμῖν πιστεύσασιν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἐγὼ τίς ἡμῖν δυνατός κωλύσαι τὸν θεόν, 11:17). After hearing Peter's defence they had no objections and praised God for his actions.

Having recapped the narrated events, the important aspects of Peter's representation need to be identified. First, Peter's involvement in this scene is precipitated by two visions. In Cornelius' vision, an angel of God tells him to find Peter. In the narrative, this shows God's approval of Peter (to both Cornelius and the reader) and suggests that God is sanctioning Peter's future actions and message. The second vision reaffirms God's selection of Peter for this sensitive and particular task. Although it is not surprising to the reader that Peter is chosen for this assignment, his involvement is not arbitrary. He is specially selected by Luke as *the* authoritative figure to endorse this boundary-crossing activity. At this point in the Acts narrative, no other character has such authority to function in such a manner.

Second, and equally important, is the consistent involvement of the Holy Spirit. Beginning with the Spirit's encouragement of Peter to go with Cornelius' men and continuing until the Spirit's indwelling the gentiles, the Holy Spirit acts throughout this narrative as a seal of approval for both Peter's actions and the gentiles' inclusion.

³⁹ Dunn (*Beginning From Jerusalem*, 394-96), makes an interesting point about Peter's need to be “converted” to an acceptance of the gentiles.

The Spirit—not to mention God and his angel—provides unwavering support for Peter’s actions and his interpretation of events.⁴⁰ Peter recognises the Spirit’s work immediately and, unlike his companions, is not surprised by the Spirit’s appearance in Cornelius’ house. Peter responds by commanding his associates to baptise the gentiles, fully understanding that this is a controversial action that is yet unparalleled.

Finally, Peter is called upon to defend his actions.⁴¹ Supported by the witness of the six men from Joppa (11:12), Peter recounts the events and his actions. Not only is his report accepted without any objections, his opposition praise God for granting the gentiles repentance unto life (11:18). Previously in the Acts narrative, when the gospel was preached to external groups such as the Samaritans in 8:14, it needed to be certified by the apostles, most notably Peter and John.⁴² However, in this instance, even though the boundary that has been crossed is substantially more significant than that in Acts 8, no external group of apostles is sent to investigate. Rather, Peter’s testimony is unequivocally accepted.⁴³ It is true that the Spirit’s endorsement goes a long way to convince those who have doubts, but one should not underestimate Acts’ emphasis on Peter’s authoritative clout. In fact, it is possible, although not explicitly specified, that if it had not been Peter who acted in this narrative, he would have been sent by the apostles to affirm the events.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ For a criticism of Luke for overuse of the character of God and the Holy Spirit in this section to nullify any human action, see Haenchen, *Acts*, 362; Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 74. I also question Peterson’s (*Acts*, 331) and Barrett’s (*Acts*, 1.491) claim of divine “control”.

I would propose that, although God, his angel, and the Holy Spirit are key actors in this passage, the human characters still act upon divine impetus. So Tannehill, *Acts*, 2.128. For a more favourable understanding of God’s actions, see Squires, *The Plan of God in Luke-Acts*, 116–18.

⁴¹ Although I agree that the role of food and table fellowship is an important feature in this episode, I disagree with Esler’s statement, “The central issue in this narrative is not that the gospel has been preached to the Gentiles, but the far more particular fact, of great ethnic and social significance, that Peter has lived and eaten with them.” Peter does not reply to these accusations, but rather focuses solely on the gentiles’ inclusion into the Christian faith. P.F. Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology* (SNTSMS 57; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 93.

⁴² I agree with Tannehill (*Acts*, 2.141–43) that in the Acts narrative the apostles typically play the role of verifiers of the gentile mission (so Acts 8). However, I would question his claim that they are not initiators as well even though Peter does act on his own impetus rather than with the initial support of the apostles. Witherington (*Acts*, 361–62) also interprets this passage in light of 8:14.

⁴³ Barrett (*Acts*, 1.535), speaking of Peter being challenged, states that “his [Peter’s] authority was not such as to carry automatic approval.” Although I agree that Peter’s actions were questioned by the circumcised believers, their concern is not with the inclusion of gentiles into the Christian fold, but rather Jewish purity laws. In this case Peter’s authority allows him to completely ignore their complaint and inform them of his (clearly correct) actions.

⁴⁴ Johnson (*Acts*, 199) wittily states, “The initiative, furthermore, has been taken by Peter himself: who from the Jerusalem community can certify his work?”

It is clear from this summary of the Acts narrative that Luke considers Peter to be a vitally important member of the Christian movement.⁴⁵ Not only is he placed at the head of the disciple list in 1:13, but he plays a foundational role in the election of Matthias to fill the place of Judas. When the Holy Spirit falls on the disciples, it is Peter who addresses the crowd, resulting in a mass conversion. And when God wants to include the gentiles into the faith, it is Peter who is sent, securing their inclusion. In all of these events Luke presents Peter as the primary gatekeeper for the Christian community. Peter's presence sanctions particular actions (such as the gospel's being preached to the Samaritans) and discerns the heart of a potentially problematic convert (Simeon). It is Peter's testimony regarding the gift of the Holy Spirit to the gentiles that allows their inclusion within the faith, and it is Peter's chastisement that removes unworthy members from the community (Ananias and Sapphira). Far from being the wavering disciple who denied Jesus in Luke's gospel, Peter is now the bold confessor, defending the fledgling religion before the Jewish authorities and the high priest and acting as the spokesman for the Christian faith. Accordingly, Peter not only functions as an ideal disciple, but for the first half of Acts he is the quintessential disciple, whose actions are consistently supported by the power of the Holy Spirit and are completely in accordance with the teachings of his master, Jesus.

2.2 Paul

Even more prominent than the material devoted to Peter, Paul is the primary character in Acts from 13:4 until the end of the volume.⁴⁶ In light of this sizable space allocation some scholars have identified Acts as a biography of Paul.⁴⁷ Although this is understandable, it is ultimately problematic, as isolating Paul from the remainder of the work does damage to Luke's holistic presentation of the early

⁴⁵ *Passim* Hengel, *Saint Peter*.

⁴⁶ Burridge notes that Paul is referenced in 14.5% of the sentences in Acts, the highest proportion of any human character. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 238, 275. For an interesting discussion regarding the continuing tension between Peter and Paul as the reason for Peter's absence in the last half of Acts, see Hengel, *Saint Peter*, 90-91. Although Hengel asks a number of speculative questions, his suggestion (p. 97) that Peter and Paul would likely have reconciled is interesting.

⁴⁷ A good example of this would be Alexander's "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography" which interprets Paul in light of Diogenes Laertius and Socratic biographies.

church and does not adequately capture the nuances and development of the larger narrative. In the remainder of this chapter I will evaluate four key sections of Paul's narrative: Saul's conversion, the change in name from Saul to Paul, his missionary journeys, and the ending of Acts.⁴⁸

Luke's presentation of Paul commences with Saul's witnessing with approval the stoning of Stephen and subsequent persecution of the church in Jerusalem. This brief episode in 8:1-4 introduces a new character to the narrative, one who is openly hostile and proactively antagonistic to the Christian faith. Although at this point of the narrative Saul does not comprehend the effect of his actions, he unintentionally initiates the spread of the gospel to the area outside of Jerusalem through the scattering of believers.⁴⁹

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Luke connects Paul with Stephen and Philip in the narrative by successively recounting their actions in Acts 6-9 and by bracketing this section with references to Saul.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the verbal link of Saul with Stephen in Acts 22:20, reinforces the literary parallels between Stephen and Paul.⁵¹ Similarly, Philip and Paul have similar narrative experiences and positively interact in Acts 21:8-9 when Paul rests at Philip's house.⁵² As a result of these literary connections with prominent Christian leaders, Luke's introduction of Saul into the narrative suggests to the observant reader that he will be one who will continue the work of spreading the gospel. This is particularly evident in Acts 9.

One of the most important scenes in Acts comes in chapter nine with Saul's conversion.⁵³ This scene begins the metamorphosis of Saul the persecutor of

⁴⁸ For a recent discussion of Acts' portrait of Paul, see T.E. Phillips, *Paul, His Letters and Acts* (LPS; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2009). For an evaluation of his approach, see S.A. Adams, "Review Essay: Phillips, *Paul, His Letters and Acts*".

⁴⁹ Spencer, *Portrait of Philip*, 32-33.

⁵⁰ Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 275.

⁵¹ For example, both receive similar accusations (blasphemy: 6:11; cf. 19:37, disrespect for the Temple and Jewish customs: 6:14; cf. 21:48; 24:6; 25:8, disloyalty to Moses: 6:11, 13; cf. 21:21), both are tried before the Sanhedrin (6:15; cf. 23:1), both are stoned (7:58-59; cf. 14:19). For further Stephen and Paul parallels, see Tannehill, *Acts*, 100; Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 278. Beginning with the interlocking narrative of Acts 7:54-8:3, Luke continues throughout Acts to forge connective links between Stephen and Paul. Richard, *Acts 6.1-8.4*, 228-29.

⁵² Such parallels include their identification as itinerate preachers (8:4-5; cf. 9:20), workers of signs and wonders (8:6, 13; cf. 14:3; 15:12; 19:11-12; 28:8-9), confronters of magicians (8:9-13; cf. 13:6-12). For further examples of parallels between Philip and Paul, see Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 284-93.

⁵³ Once again Luke highlights this pivotal event by narrative repetition. Barrett, *Acts*, 1.439; Witherington, *Acts*, 303. Regarding the terminology of conversion versus call, I wish to affirm

Christians into Saul the Christian who has had a transformational experience of the risen Jesus.⁵⁴ Struck blind, Saul undergoes three days of inactivity before having his sight miraculously healed and his identity refashioned.⁵⁵ As mentioned in chapter six above, Ananias is a minor, but important character for Paul's conversion narrative; more than merely a messenger, the dialogue between Ananias and the Lord is vital for the Acts narrative as it reveals to the readers for the first time that Paul has switched camps and has become an approved member of the Christian movement.⁵⁶

Ananias' vision shapes the reader's expectations of Paul and provides a programmatic outline of the suffering that he will endure in the remainder of Acts. Moessner and others have identified numerous parallels between the actions and sayings of Peter and Paul, and Jesus similar to the parallels between the deaths of Jesus and Stephen. These parallels and the modeling of Peter and Paul's actions on Jesus further affirm their affinity and conformity to the teachings of their master. Moessner claims, "Peter, Stephen, [and] Paul must suffer rejection like their Messiah, because that is the very manner in which the fulfillment of the messianic history takes place within the promised plan of God."⁵⁷ This understanding is affirmed by Tannehill's assertion, "When he is transformed, the character of Saul shifts from aligning him with the killers of Jesus and Stephen to aligning him with Jesus and Stephen as suffering proclaimers of the word."⁵⁸ The role of Paul's proclamation and future suffering are vital as they are two of the key features by which Luke indicates authentic association with the Christian faith and Jesus (9:16). It is fair to say that "what [Luke] wishes to emphasise in the section 9:1-30 is that Paul has indeed become a true disciple who will follow closely in his master's footsteps,"⁵⁹ and that these footsteps will ultimately lead to suffering and persecution.⁶⁰ A

Barrett's claim (*Acts*, 1.442) that it is both: "A conversion in the Christian sense is always at the same time a call."

⁵⁴ Cf. Plato, *Apol.* 20e-22a for a conversion through an oracle that was universally known in the ancient world, Diogenes 2.37.

⁵⁵ D. Marguerat, "Saul's Conversion (Acts 9, 22, 26) and the Multiplication of Narrative in Acts," in C.M. Tuckett (ed.), *Luke's Literary Achievement: Collected Essays* (JSNTSup 116; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 127-55, 142. The receiving of sight on the third day is interesting as it parallels Jesus' third-day resurrection.

⁵⁶ Tannehill, *Acts*, 115-16.

⁵⁷ Moessner, "'The Christ Must Suffer'," 224.

⁵⁸ Tannehill, *Acts*, 114.

⁵⁹ Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 302.

⁶⁰ Tannehill, *Acts*, 118. Acts 14:19, 22; 16:23; 20:23; 21:10, 32. For an identification of Pauline parallels with Jesus and particular details of Paul's suffering, see H.H. Evans, *St. Paul the Author of*

disciple's willingness to suffer and/or die in order to defend his master's teaching is one way of indicating fidelity in philosophical biographies (e.g., Iamblichus, *Pyth.* 189-194; Diogenes 8.39).

Following this transformation, another challenge awaits Saul: integration. For this, Luke calls upon Barnabas in 9:27. In Acts, when Saul comes to Jerusalem the disciples are afraid of him, not knowing if he has truly converted. Barnabas, however, takes a risk and brings Saul to the disciples and tells them Saul's conversion story (9:26).⁶¹ Here again we see one of the key members of the in-group, Barnabas, acting as a liaison, and the disciples acting as gatekeepers, restricting Saul's actions in Jerusalem until he has been sanctioned by them.

Despite his changing camps, the transformation of Saul is far from complete. In fact, at this point in the Acts narrative, Saul is sent off to Tarsus (9:30), only after which the church throughout Judea, Galilee, and Samaria enjoy a time of peace (9:31). If one did not know the remaining contents of Acts, it would be possible to conclude that this might have been Saul's exit from the narrative as Luke once again returns his focus to Peter's vision and the evangelisation of Cornelius' house.⁶² Saul, however, is rescued from obscurity (again) by Barnabas, who travels to Tarsus to find him (11:25). After this, Saul is sent with Barnabas as an emissary to bring gifts to the Jerusalem church (11:30; 12:25).

It is after this point in Acts that Saul begins to dominate the narrative. Following the disciple list in 13:1, Barnabas and Saul are set apart by the Holy Spirit and are commissioned by the church in Antioch. Their first stop is Cyprus at which an important shift in the narrative occurs, namely, the changing of Saul's name to Paul and Paul's corresponding leadership of the mission following his victory over Elymas. This change in name from Saul to Paul has long interested commentators, who have proposed a variety of motivations for Luke.⁶³ Most recently Sean M.

the Acts of the Apostles and of the Third Gospel (London, 1884), 49, who was one of the first to notice these Jesus-Paul parallels. See also Mattill, "Jesus-Paul Parallels," 18; Rackham, *Acts*, 477-78.

⁶¹ This indicates that Barnabas had an in-depth conversation with Saul in order for him to recount his story to the disciples.

⁶² Esler indicates that Paul's mission was prepared and legitimised by Peter and that this preparation was important for Luke to indicate the continuity of early Christian mission. Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts*, 96; Haenchen, *Acts*, 356. On the connection between the visions of Paul and Peter in Acts 9 and 10, respectively, see Witherington, *Acts*, 303, 318.

⁶³ Suggestions for the change include the salacious connotations of σαύλος in Greek; Paul's desire to honour Sergius Paulus; and Paul's wish to have a Gentile name for the Gentile mission. The earliest

McDonough has suggested that the name change should be understood in light of Paul's speech in 13:16-42 and Luke's desire to distance Paul from the negative reference to Saul, the first king of Israel.⁶⁴

Despite the challenge of identifying the literary motivation, that Paul's name change corresponds with his new authority in the narrative is noteworthy.⁶⁵ While Luke's claim that Saul was also called Paul (13:9) is well noted by scholars, the statement after this, that Paul was *πλησθεὶς πνεύματος ἁγίου* is less acknowledged. This is surprising as it is the first time in the narrative that Saul/Paul is said to be filled with the Spirit.⁶⁶ Furthermore, Paul's blinding of Elymas (13:11) is the first recorded sign/wonder attributed to Saul/Paul, who until this time has only been a proclaimer of the message.⁶⁷ The association of Paul's name change with being filled with the Spirit and working his first miracle is not incidental, but rather used by Luke to indicate the full emergence of the person of Paul. Similarly, this narrative secures Paul's place within the Christian leadership and as the leader of the mission (13:13).

McDonough is correct, therefore, when he states that "the name change in Acts 13 serves for the author of Acts as a vivid illustration of Paul's transformation."⁶⁸ Such a shift is emphasised with a corresponding name change and, understood from the perspective of social scientific theory, signifies the leaving of the old person behind and full adoption of the new persona.⁶⁹ No longer is Paul to be associated with Saul the persecutor of Christians. Rather, he is now a changed man, a leader of the

overview of the options is Philip Schaff, "Biblical Monographs: Saul and Paul," *Methodist Quarterly Review* 51 (1869): 422-24. For a more recent survey, see T.J. Leary, "Paul's Improper Name," *NTS* 38 (1992): 467-69.

⁶⁴ S.M. McDonough, "Small Change: Saul to Paul, Again," *JBL* 125 (2006): 390-91.

⁶⁵ *Contra* Fitzmyer (*Acts*, 500) who claims that this is a "minor detail".

⁶⁶ It is possible, as some have claimed (Bock, *Acts*, 362; Peterson, *Acts*, 310), that Saul was filled with the Spirit in 9:17 when Ananias states to Saul "the Lord...has sent me so that you may see again and be filled with the Holy Spirit." Although Saul does retain his sight, there is no reference by the narrator that Saul was filled with the Holy Spirit, especially in 22:14-16 and 26:12-18. Pervo (*Acts*, 244) is correct when he states that Luke refers to a regular baptism, not one of the Spirit.

⁶⁷ Tannehill (*Acts*, 161-62) insightfully notes the parallels between Paul, Peter, and Jesus and the pairing of teaching and signs when they began their ministries.

⁶⁸ McDonough, "Small Change," 391.

⁶⁹ G.H.R. Horsley, "Name Change as an Indication of Religious Conversion in Antiquity," *Numen* 34 (1987): 1-17. Such name changes could also be associated with major life events; Parsons, *Acts*, 190. Also, the giving of a nickname or the changing of a name of a disciple by a master was not unheard of in philosophical schools. For examples, see Porphyry, *Plotinus*, 7; Matt 16:18; John 11:16; 20:24; 21:2.

Christian faith, a worker of miracles, a defeater of magicians, a preacher of the kingdom, a co-sufferer with Jesus, *the* leader of his missionary party.⁷⁰

It is this Paul whom Luke portrays throughout the remaining Acts narrative. Following this event, Luke states that Paul has various traveling companions (20:4-5) who journey with him throughout the eastern Mediterranean while he preaches. As the lead representative of the faith in these passages, Paul continues the advancement of the gospel to the gentiles. In this way Luke shows great concern with the theme of continuity of witness and witnesses in Acts. This is especially evidenced in Paul's interactions with the Jerusalem church leaders.⁷¹

Overall, Luke makes a concerted effort to show the change and movement from Saul, an enemy of the renegade Christian movement, to Paul, a leader of the true faith. Though this shift is gradual, it is facilitated by a few key events, specifically his conversion and name change.

2.3 *Summary*

In the above section we see Peter and Paul presented in ways that are consistent with how characters are presented in collected biographies. First, in addition to highlighting the disciples, Luke consistently delineates in-group and out-group members, particularly through an interaction with either Peter or Paul. At strategic places in the Acts narrative Luke recounts particular characters' encounters with Peter or Paul in ways that clarify those characters' relationship to the Christian movement (e.g., Ananias and Sapphira, Simon Magus, the seven sons of Sceva). Although the emphasis on association with Peter or Paul is likely due to the large amount of narrative assigned to these two disciples, this emphasis, nevertheless, stresses their importance; by having Peter and Paul, the dominant figures of the Christian movement, confront and/or pass judgement on opponents, Luke clearly indicates the exclusion of those persons from the Christian community. As discussed above, these features are paralleled in other philosophical biographies where delimitating followers is an important concern.

⁷⁰ Such name changes are also found in biographies, most notably Matt 16:17-18; Luke 6:14; Porphyry, *Plot.* 7.

⁷¹ Clark, *Parallel Lives*, 279.

Second, Luke's allocation of large narrative sections to his two lead Christian members, Peter and Paul, should be understood in terms of highlighting a teacher's most important disciples. This emphasis on a movement's prominent adherents is understandable and parallels the foci of other collected biographies as seen in chapter five. Similarly, these followers, as well as the other disciples, present a pattern for imitation for the Christian community and model how an ideal Christian should act and teach.⁷²

Paul's Missionary Journeys and Trials

By recounting his conversion and transformation, Luke has identified Paul as an important member of the community's "in-group". Now Paul begins to act as a Christian missionary in his own right and becomes the defender of the faith in front of world leaders. These events comprise the majority of the narrative about Paul as well as a sizable portion of Acts. This section briefly traces Luke's account of Paul's ministry and identifies parallels between Acts' motifs and those found in individual and collected biographies. That Luke's Pauline motifs of travel, persecution, prison, and trials are also notable in biographies strengthens the view that Acts is a biography.

Beginning in Acts 13-14, Paul and Barnabas form a mission partnership to evangelise the western portion of the Mediterranean. After the council meeting in Acts 15 and following his separation from Barnabas (15:36-41), Paul takes Silas and Timothy as his mission partners through Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece. However, although both accompany Paul from Antioch, Silas drops out of the narrative at Acts 18:7 and Timothy is only intermittently represented.⁷³ This results in Paul's being the focus character for the rest of the narrative.

Acts 13-19 recalls Paul's traveling as a Christian missionary, performing miracles, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching about Jesus. This extensive travelling narrative is not common in collected biographies, although there are a few

⁷² Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 47-48; Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 134.

⁷³ I disagree with Phillips' claim that Silas parted company with Paul because he was so offended at Paul leaving the synagogue (*Paul*, 171). Timothy is also absent after Acts 20:4.

comparable examples. First, there are a couple places in Plutarch's *Lives* where he recounts his subjects' travels. In *Lyc.* 3.5-5.3, Plutarch tells us that Lycurgus visited Crete, Asia, and Egypt. Similarly, *Sol.* 25.5-26.2, narrates Solon's ten-year ostracism in which he visited Egypt and Cyprus. However, neither of these travel reports comprise much space in the narrative. Diogenes 2.22 does suggest, however, that traveling was a part of a philosopher's life as he makes a point of stating that "Socrates did not need to travel, unlike most philosophers" (Ἀποδημίας δὲ οὐκ ἐδεήθη, καθάπερ οἱ πλείους). Nevertheless, Diogenes' characters are sedentary, being sought out by disciples, rather than acquiring them through their travels.

On the other hand, there are strong examples of individual biographies' following their subjects around in their travels and teachings. For example, Ps.-Herodotus' *Vita Homeri* 9-24 traces Homer's travels around the Mediterranean, recounting his sayings, poetry and epigrams. After a brief account of Homer's marriage and two daughters (25), Ps.-Herodotus continues to narrate Homer's travels (26-34) until Homer's death (36). This biography is geographically focused and parallels Paul's missionary journeys as portrayed in Acts.

Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, whose work displays strong parallels to Luke's representation of Paul, is another example. In this work a majority of the narrative recounts Apollonius' travels to India (via Babylon, 1.18), Cyprus (3.48), Ionia (4.1), Egypt (5.20), and Ethiopia (6.1). In these sections Apollonius displays supernatural power and knowledge (1.20; 4.10, 20), performs miracles (4.45; 7.28), gives speeches (6.3), as well as gains followers who accept his teaching (4.25, 34, 37). Furthermore, approximately the last quarter of the work (books 7-8) describes the events surrounding Apollonius' arrest (7.9-10), trial before Emperor Domitian (7.29, 32), miraculous escape (8.5, 8), and defence speech (8.6-7).

Yet another example comes from L. Alexander, who suggests that Plato's *Apology of Socrates* and Xenophon's *Memorabilia* afford good literary parallels for biographically interpreting Paul's mission and suffering in Acts.⁷⁴ Not only does the Socratic tradition provide a sustained, detailed narrative, it has a literary complexity and continuity that Diogenes and other collected biographies lack.⁷⁵ Alexander

⁷⁴ Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 62-67.

⁷⁵ See the discussion of continuous narrative in chapter five. Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 62-63.

begins by identifying some resemblances between the calls of Paul and Socrates, who both commence their ministry with divine impetus (Acts 9; Plato, *Apol.* 20e-23a).⁷⁶ The divine call was the catalyst for Paul's mission (Acts 13-19) and Socrates': "Therefore I am still even now going about and searching and investigating at the God's behest anyone, whether citizen or foreigner...and by reason of this occupation I have no leisure to attend to any of the affairs of the state worth mentioning, or of my own, but am in vast poverty on account of my service to the God" (Plato, *Apol.* 23b, Loeb).

Alexander also notes parallels in Paul's and Socrates' tribulations and persecution.⁷⁷ The Acts narrative is explicit about Paul's adversity: he is to suffer persecution for his Christian allegiance (9:16; 20:23; 22:18; 26:17).⁷⁸ In Acts 21:28 Paul is accused by his own countrymen of desecrating the temple as a direct result of his preaching ministry. Socrates was also rebuked by his countrymen: "Very often, while arguing and discussing points that arose, he was treated with great violence and beaten, and pulled about, and laughed at and ridiculed by the multitude. But he bore all this with great equanimity" (Diogenes 2.21, Yonge).⁷⁹ The association of persecution and the philosophical life was well known.⁸⁰ For example, Paul's speech to the Ephesians in Acts 20:18-35, which references past and future tribulations, portrays Paul, not only expecting suffering and hardship, but willing to sacrifice his life for that cause.⁸¹ This theme is found in other biographies and was considered to be part of a philosopher's lot.⁸²

Continuing the Acts account, one of the most prominent components of the Pauline narrative is his imprisonment and trials. Taking up the last quarter of Acts, Paul's imprisonment and trials are an important part of the work,⁸³ shaping the

⁷⁶ For other divine calls, see Marinus, *Proc.* 6, 9, 10; Lucian, *Somn.* 9-13; Xenophon, *Apol.* 14; Plato, *Phaed.* 60e4-61a4. On the need for a philosopher's divine calling, see Epictetus, *Dis.* 3.22.2-5, 23.

⁷⁷ Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 64-66.

⁷⁸ Alexander ("Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 64) cites 2 Cor 10-13 as a list of Paul's labours. However, not all of these struggles listed in (2 Cor 11:23-27) are part of the Acts narrative. Although some are included (such as stoning, flogging, shipwrecked), Alexander's citation of 2 Corinthians is problematic as it includes material foreign to the Acts narrative. Nevertheless, her comparisons with Seneca, *Ep.* 104.27-33 and Lucian, *Dem.* 2 are insightful.

⁷⁹ Cf. Plato, *Apol.* 22e-23a.

⁸⁰ Epictetus, *Dis.* 3.22.53-58.

⁸¹ There are a number of parallels between Paul's speech in Acts 20 and Epictetus' *Dis.* 3.22.1-109.

⁸² Eunapius, *Vit. Phil.* 478-81, 498; Philostratus, *Apol.* 4.46-47; 6.21; Lucian, *Peregr.* 12, 37; *Fug.* 3.

⁸³ Maddox, *Purpose*, 67; Pervo, *Profit*, 14-15.

reader's view of Paul and other Christian characters as they are a direct response to their faithful preaching of the message (Acts 20:23-27).⁸⁴ It is not enough, however, that Paul and others are imprisoned; more important is how the subject responds to his imprisonment.⁸⁵ For example, in Acts 16:25 Paul and Silas not only bear their suffering with confidence, but both are joyful in their incarceration and sing hymns. This joy not only elevates the reader's perspective of them,⁸⁶ but clearly indicates their allegiance to their message and their willingness to continue in its proclamation. A parallel example is Socrates, who, though awaiting death in prison, had the composure to compose paeans.⁸⁷ Similar confidence was displayed by Apollonius (in contrast to his disciple Damis), who chose to remain in prison, knowing that he was not in danger, because his divine nature would allow him to escape (*Vit. Apoll.* 7.38).⁸⁸

Wrongful imprisonment/death is another theme in the narrative, beginning with Jesus in Luke's Gospel (23:4, 14-22), and recurring Acts (4:3; 16:36-37; 23:29; 25:27; 26:31-32).⁸⁹ Once again the standard comparison would be Socrates' death at the hands of the Athenians.⁹⁰ Socrates' composure in his imprisonment, trial, and death became the ancient paradigm for the noble death.⁹¹ Furthermore, he was later linked to stoic and other martyrs,⁹² whose wrongful deaths by morally corrupt politicians and Caesars became a common refrain.⁹³ Overall, willingness to face death for one's beliefs is a standard component for philosophical biographies and Acts (7:54-60; 20:24; 25:11).⁹⁴

⁸⁴ Cf. "Fellows like these are believed if they've been in some far-off prison, shackled hand and foot: if he hasn't a prison record, then he has no renown, but a sentence to one of the islands, a narrow escape from death, procures him a reputation" (Juvenal, *Sat.* 6.560-64, Humphries). Cf. Lucian, *Peregr.* 12; Philostratus, *Apol.* 7.4.

⁸⁵ For a negative example, see Suetonius, *Vit.* 17.

⁸⁶ Pervo, *Profit.* 23-24.

⁸⁷ Plato, *Phaed.* 4, 60d; Diogenes 2.42. Epictetus, *Dis.* 2.6.27 claims that "Socrates wrote paeans in prison."

⁸⁸ Socrates' confidence: Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.7.8; Plutarch, *Tranq. an.* 466e, 475e; *Exil.* 607f; *An vit.* 499b. Other examples of confidence are Josephus in Suetonius, *Vesp.* 5.6-7; Pythagoras' disciples, Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 189-94.

⁸⁹ Pervo, *Acts*, 592.

⁹⁰ For Plutarch's use of the Socrates motif, see C. Pelling, "Plutarch's Socrates," *Hermathena* 179 (2005): 105-39.

⁹¹ "[Socrates] will show you how to die if it be necessary," Seneca, *Ep.* 104.22; Plutarch, *Adv. Col.* 1117e; (ironically) Lucian, *Peregr.* 12, 37.

⁹² Epictetus, *Dis.* 4.1.123; Seneca, *Ep.* 98.12; 104.27-33.

⁹³ Suetonius, *Dom.* 10; Diogenes 8.39-40; Nepos, *Dion* 10.

⁹⁴ Plutarch, *Nic.* 23.4, "...and Socrates was killed for his philosophy."

The recounting of a trial (if there was one) can also be an important feature of both individual and collected biographies as they show the character of the subject. Trials in Plutarch are few and are often passed over without any lengthy defence speeches.⁹⁵ Conversely, recounting trials is important for Nepos, although they too do not have substantial narrative or long speeches.⁹⁶ Similarly, Diogenes reports many trials (especially on the Areopagus, 2.101, 116; 7.169), although also with limited dialogue.⁹⁷ In Philostratus' *Apollonius* a sizable portion of books 7-8 describes the events surrounding Apollonius' arrest (7.9-10), trial (7.29, 32), escape (8.5, 8), and defence speech (8.6-7). Just prior to the commencement of the trial (8.2) the author explicitly highlights Apollonius' character and composure as he presents his case and discusses his teaching.⁹⁸ Furthermore, Apollonius in the trial is shown to be superior in judgement to the Emperor who sits as judge, and is eventually acquitted (8.5). Despite this acquittal, Philostratus felt compelled to include a full copy of the defence speech (8.7) that spreads over 34 Loeb pages. Plato's *Apology*, though it lack a trial narrative, records three speeches, one given as a defence (1-24, 17a-35d), and two in response to the verdict (25-28, 36a-38b; 29-33, 38c-42a).

In Acts, Paul is regularly in front of magistrates (e.g., 18:12), although Acts 22-26 forms Paul's trial compilation. In this section, Paul defends his actions before the Sanhedrin, high priest, centurion Claudius Lysias (22:30-23:10), governor Felix (24:1-27), Festus (25:1-12), and King Agrippa (25:23-26:32). All of these trials contain dialogue in which Paul speaks, often in a sustained discourse (e.g., 22:1-21; 26:2-23).⁹⁹ As seen above, the presence of a speech by the main defendant is well represented in ancient biographies and supports the interpretation that Acts is a biography.¹⁰⁰ This view is supported by Alexander's statement, "Note that the primary literary expression of this call is in the first-person *Apology* in which Socrates, on trial for his life, defends his own obedience to the divine message:

⁹⁵ *Pel.* 25.1-7; *Them.* 23.3-4.

⁹⁶ *Neops.* *Att.* 6; *Epam.* 8; *Iph.* 3; *Lys.* 3; *Milt.* 8; *Paus.* 2; *Phoc.* 2, 3; *Timoth.* 3.

⁹⁷ Barrett (*Acts*, 824) emphasises how the Areopagus in Acts 17:16-33 plays an important setting for framing Paul's speech and for connecting him to the wider philosophical traditions, particularly that of Socrates.

⁹⁸ Note also the reference to Socrates in Philostratus, *Apol.* 8.2.

⁹⁹ For thematic parallels between Paul's speech in Acts 26 and the wider philosophical tradition, see A.J. Malherbe, *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 147-63.

¹⁰⁰ Pervo, *Acts*, 592. "If one allows that the message of Acts has become embedded in what amounts to a biography of Paul, much, if not all, of chaps. 21-28 is rather more justified, although this concession has major ramifications for the evaluation of the work..."

compare Paul's dual first-person account of his call in his own *apologia*, Acts 22 and 26."¹⁰¹

Furthermore, there is an interesting parallel between the charges brought against Paul by Tertullus (Acts 24:5) and those brought against Jesus in Luke's Gospel (23:1-5). In these passages both Jesus and Paul are charged with undermining Roman authority and stirring up the Jews. By charging Paul with the same crimes as Jesus, Tertullus unwittingly undermines his position to the reader and presents Paul in a positive light, reinforcing Paul's place as a leading disciple and a faithful follower of his teacher.¹⁰²

Although the components of Paul's narrative (travel, speeches, trials) are not dominant in collected biographies, they are not absent. There are, however, strong literary affiliations with individual biographies, particularly Ps.-Herodotus' *Vita Homeri*, Plato's *Apology* and Philostratus' *Apollonius*. This further supports the claim that the themes and topics of Acts have genetic relations with ancient biography. We now turn to the final section of this study, which interprets the ending of Acts in light of the open endings of collected biographies.

The Ending of Acts

Scholars today continue to investigate the apparent enigma of the Lukan ending of Acts.¹⁰³ Before we look at the possibility of parallels with the collected biography tradition, an overview of the various scholarly proposals is in order. Although not all theories will be discussed equally, this section will orientate us and prepare us for later discussion. What is apparent from the history of scholarship is that the ending of Acts has been a consistent problem for its commentators.¹⁰⁴ Although similar

¹⁰¹ Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 63. Also, Maddox, *Purpose*, 78.

¹⁰² Padilla, *Speeches*, 221-24; H. Omerzu, *Der Prozeß des Paulus: Eine exegetische und rechtshistorische Untersuchung der Apostelgeschichte* (BZNW 115; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 428-30; Haenchen, *Acts*, 653; Padilla, *Speeches*, 222.

¹⁰³ For a survey of research, see C.J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (WUNT 49; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 383-87; Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, 205-30; C.B. Puskas, *The Conclusion of Luke-Acts: The Significance of Acts 28:16-31* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2009), 13-15.

¹⁰⁴ I suggest that the ending of Acts is not in itself as problematic as it appears in scholarship; however, based on the scholarly tradition of addressing the comments of previous commentators, it has received substantial attention.

concern has been displayed for Mark's ending (note the addition of Mark 16:9-20),¹⁰⁵ Acts' lack of conclusion has vexed its readers, resulting in additional endings,¹⁰⁶ and the *Acts of Paul* to provide an account of Paul's death (*Acts Paul* 10).

Modern theories on the ending of Acts can be divided into two groups. One group claims that the ending was not intentional, and that Luke was in some way limited or compelled by circumstances to end his narrative at this point. The other group holds the belief that Luke intentionally penned the extant ending of Acts, and seeks to uncover his motivation(s).

Out of the scholars from the first group, some have excused Luke's ending by positing that he may have run out of papyrus, or that he intended to write a third volume to recount Paul's trial and martyrdom.¹⁰⁷ These proposals, however, have been widely rejected, not only because there is no evidential support, but because they are generally unsatisfactory.¹⁰⁸ Another theory that continues to have scholarly support is connected to the larger debate over the dating of Acts. While the dating of Acts affects the question of the ending, an outline of that debate is beyond the purview of this discussion. Suffice it to say that those advocating an early date for Acts have suggested that Luke simply ran out of material, died before completing his work, or that "the narrative has caught up with events."¹⁰⁹ Although slightly modified, this position was re-presented by Hemer who argues for a dating of Acts in AD 62.¹¹⁰ If in fact Luke was writing during the early 60s this could be a plausible

¹⁰⁵ For a good discussion about the various theories for the ending of Mark, see J.L. Magness, *Sense and Absence: Structure and Suspension in the Ending of Mark's Gospel* (SBL SemeiaSt; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 1-14.

¹⁰⁶ See for example, it^p vg^{mss} syr^{hxt} Ephraem, which is reconstructed as ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, δι' οὗ μέλλει ὅλος ὁ κόσμος κρίνεσθαι. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 444-45.

¹⁰⁷ A. Harnack, *Luke the Physician: The Author of the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1907), 135; F. Spitta, *Die Apostelgeschichte: Ihre Quellen und deren Geschichtlicher Wert* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1891), 318-19; F. Zahn, "Das Dritte Buch des Lukas," *NKZ* 28 (1917): 373-95; W. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveler and Roman Citizen* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897), 351-52. For the perspective that the Pastoral Epistles constitute the "third volume," see J.D. Quinn, "The Last Volume of Luke: The Relation of Luke-Acts to the Pastoral Epistles," in C.H. Talbert (ed.), *Perspectives on Luke-Acts* (Perspectives in Religious Studies 5; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1978), 62-75.

¹⁰⁸ For specific critiques, see Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 137 n.1; Wilson, *Gentiles*, 234.

¹⁰⁹ A. Harnack, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, vol. IV, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte und zur Abfassungszeit der synoptischen Evangelien* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911), 65-69; A. Harnack, *The Date of Acts and the Synoptic Gospels* (trans. J.R. Wilkinson; NTS 4; London: Williams and Norgate, 1911), 93-98; Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, li; J. Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles* (AB 31; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967), 260. Proposing Luke's death is H. Lietzmann, *The History of the Early Church* (trans. B.L. Woolf; London: Lutterworth, 1961), 2.78.

¹¹⁰ Hemer, *The Book of Acts*, 408.

explanation; however, there are many challenges to an early dating of Acts that undermine the strength of this position.¹¹¹

There are scholars, however, who take the view that the ending of Acts is intentional and that, for some reason, Luke designed his narrative to end as it does. This is quickly becoming the predominant view in scholarship with the corresponding application of literary, theological, and rhetorical approaches. An older theory, proposed by K. Schrader, is that the ending of Acts was intentionally omitted because of possible political repercussions.¹¹² In this view, placing the cause of Paul's martyrdom squarely on the Roman Emperor might have been problematic for the well-being of the fledgling Christian movement. As a result, the apologetic omission of Nero's execution of Paul could possibly ingratiate Christians to future Emperors. This, however, is improbable as it is unlikely that an early Christian would suppress an account of an apostle's martyrdom for a political reason.¹¹³ Furthermore, the need not to denigrate Nero is weak, as Nero was not well respected even by his countrymen.

Other scholars have thought that what must have happened to Paul was too embarrassing or anti-climactic for Luke to include in his narrative. For instance, Paul, after his time in Rome, may have been summarily executed without a trial and without standing before Caesar, or Paul, after the substantial build-up of his trial in the Acts narrative, may have been released, or possibly never put on trial in the first place.¹¹⁴ These views, however, are completely dependent on the early date of Acts and assume that Luke did not know the outcome of the trial or Paul's death prior to the commencement of his writing of Acts.

In contrast to the views that posit that Luke omitted the conclusion for negative reasons, there is a growing adherence to the rhetorical-literary perspective, which

¹¹¹ For a discussion on the dating of Luke and Acts and the challenges to the early date hypothesis, see Haenchen, *Acts*, 731-32; Wilson, *Gentiles*, 233; Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 4-14, 334-40, 455-57; Bock, *Acts*, 25-27; For a list of adherents to particular views see Hemer, *The Book of Acts*, 365-410, esp. 367-70.

¹¹² K. Schrader, *Der Apostel Paulus* (Leipzig, 1836), 5:573-74; Haenchen, *Acts*, 732. A modified view is discussed by Hemer, *The Book of Acts*, 408. Some (assuming an early date) have argued that Acts was specifically written to influence the outcome of Paul's trial, e.g., R.E. Cottle, *The Occasion and Purpose of the Final Drafting of Acts* (diss. University of Southern California, 1967), 98-103.

¹¹³ Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, 135 n. 2. Recently, Rowe has presented a reading of Acts that is politically sensitive, suggesting that Luke might have had political issues in mind when composing Acts. See C. Kevin Rowe, *World Upside Down: Reading Acts in the Graeco-Roman Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹¹⁴ Hemer, *The Book of Acts*, 406-407.

views Luke's lack of closure as a rhetorical technique. Although its revival is relatively recent, this perspective was first offered by John Chrysostom in his *Homily on Acts* 15:

[Luke] brings his narrative to this point, and leaves the hearer thirsty so that he fills up the lack by himself through reflection. The pagans do the same; for, knowing everything wills the spirit to sleep and enfeebles it. But he does this, and does not tell what follows, deeming it superfluous for those who read the Scripture, and learn from it what it is appropriate to add to the account. In fact, you may consider that what follows is absolutely identical with what precedes.

According to Chrysostom, as the ending of Acts leaves the reader "thirsty," its lack of holistic summary forces the reader to delve deeper into the text and further reflect upon it. Furthermore, Chrysostom does not condemn Acts' ending, but rather defends it by acknowledging that it was a common literary feature in the works of the pagan writers. It is to the relationship of Acts with the works of such writers that we now turn, beginning by comparing Acts' conclusion with works from the larger Greco-Roman literary world more widely, and then focusing on collected biographies specifically.

1. Rhetorical-Literary Approach and Ancient Works

Unfortunately, there are few theoretical discussions of a conclusion's governing principles in ancient works. This is quite opposite to the abundance of writing on how to commence or open a work. Though prescriptive comments on conclusions will be taken into consideration, it is primarily an analysis of the actual endings of ancient works that will afford the most insight.

The primary reference to the nature of a conclusion is found in Aristotle's *Poetics* 7, 1450b28-32, which states that the end "is by the plan of nature something that necessarily or normally follows something else, but is followed by nothing" and that a well-constructed story must "neither begin or end at random spots, but must abide

by the above formula.”¹¹⁵ Accordingly, a strong correlation between the plot of a story and its conclusion is prescribed.¹¹⁶ This, however, was clearly not taken as binding, as some ancient writers fail to heed his exhortation.

That readers expect certain endings is indicated by the fact that a surprise or reverse ending has a strong impact on the reader. The author of a surprise ending preys upon literary and cultural expectations to enhance the effect of the plot by subverting those expectations in order to increase enjoyment of his work. As a result, the reader is forced to reframe his or her prior expectations in order to bring them into coherence with the new perspective they have been provided.¹¹⁷

Although subverted endings are one way in which a writer can create interest for his work, an author can also make use of suspension in tandem with developing expectations in order to create a work that does not come to a firm closure, but that supplies enough information within the body of narrative to provide a sense of closure and knowledge about continuing events. This suspended ending, although potentially dissatisfying to the reader if poorly executed, may be propped up through narrative features, producing a residual effect by which the story is perpetuated in the mind of the reader even after its completion.¹¹⁸

The idea behind this theory is that both the presence *and* the absence of something can be inherently important: “The lack of a sign can itself be a sign.”¹¹⁹ Similarly, M.A.K. Halliday states that “in the study of language in a social perspective we need both to pay attention to what is said and at the same time to relate it systematically to

¹¹⁵ Τελευτή δὲ τοῦναντίον ὁ αὐτὸ μὲν μετ’ ἄλλο πέφυκεν εἶναι ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄλλο οὐδέν· ... δεῖ ἄρα τοὺς συνεστάτας εὖ μύθους μὴθ’ ὁπόθεν ἔτυχεν ἄρχεσθαι μὴθ’ ὅπου ἔτυχε τελευτᾶν, ἀλλὰ κεχρηῆσθαι ταῖς εἰρημέναις ιδέαις.

Although this is the best known reference to Aristotle’s view on plot and the ending of the narrative, he also states that some have critiqued Euripides for his play’s unhappy endings, even though they are poignant and elicit a strong emotional response (*Poet.* 14, 1453b28-32). In a later passage, Aristotle also claims that the length of the work should have both the beginning and ending in view (*Poet.* 24, 1459b19-20).

¹¹⁶ Horace (*Ars* 152) states that the end should not be discordant with the beginning or the middle (*medio ne discrepet imum*).

¹¹⁷ Iser expresses that when any blank or break nullifies the expectation of good continuance, “the imagination is automatically mobilised, thus increasing the constitutive activity of the reader, who cannot help but try and supply the missing links that will bring the schemata together in an integrated gestalt.” W. Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), 186.

¹¹⁸ E.S. Rabkin, *Narrative Suspense* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1973), 121-25.

¹¹⁹ M. Merleau-Ponty, *Das Auge und der Geist: Philosophische Essays* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1967), 73.

what might have been said but was not.”¹²⁰ While such modern linguistic theories were not expressed in such a manner by the ancients, the ancients were well aware of the possibility that an absence within a text, especially at the ending, could have a greater significance and impact than a fully expounded conclusion.¹²¹

This practice can be identified in a number of ancient works, and it is to some examples that we will now turn. We will begin with a brief discussion of the larger literary milieu before a more focused discussion of collected biography and Acts in particular.

1.1 *Endings in Greco-Roman Literature*

The first and most notable example is that given by Homer, whose classic works formed the cornerstone of Greek literature. Homer commences the *Iliad* with a focus on the wrath of Achilles and his role within the Trojan War, and concludes it with a tense situation that directly results from Achilles’ acting on his anger. Although there have been doubts about the construction and the dating of books 23 and 24, with some suggesting that the original text ended at the close of book 22, it is apparent that regardless of which ending one adheres to, there is little resolution to the narrative.¹²² If the *Iliad* ends at book 22, then the reader is left with the slaying of Hector and the mourning of Andromache (“In such wise did she cry aloud amid her tears, and the women joined in her lament,” 22.515). On the other hand, book 24 leaves the meeting of Achilles and Priam open-ended and the reader with a strong foreboding regarding events that are yet to come.

¹²⁰ M.A.K. Halliday, *Explorations in the Function of Language* (New York: Elsevier, 1973), 59.

¹²¹ Magness (*Sense and Absence*, 19-20) expresses this well when she states “that endings which by some device or another have been suspended from the texts, absent endings, may communicate as meaningfully as those which include complete denouement.”

Although Quintilian did not discuss the nature of omission in relationship to the ending of a work, he does show interest in the how an omission affects the hearer in rhetorical declamation. See, for example, Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.6-21-22; 9.2.54-57; 9.3.50-58. Similarly, Horace (*Ars* 182-88) discusses the fact that in a number of plays significant events occur offstage and are reported to the audience by the narrator or chorus. This visual omission is supplemented by the auditory report, but, nonetheless, propels the viewer to imagination. Ps.-Longinus (*Subl.* 9.2), in reference to a narrative event and speech, briefly mentions the power that can come from silence rather than explicit dialogue.

¹²² For a discussion on books 23 and 24 and the unity of the *Iliad*, see A.T. Murray, *Homer: The Iliad* (LCL 39; London: Heinemann, 1924), xiii. For a view of the development of Achilles throughout the *Iliad* with a break between books 22 and 23, see Leon Golden, *Understanding the Iliad* (Bloomington: Authorhouse, 2006), ch. 2.

Then they built a barrow hurriedly over it keeping guard on every side lest the Achaeans should attack them before they had finished. When they had heaped up the barrow they went back again into the city, and being well assembled they held high feast in the house of Priam their king. Thus, then, did they celebrate the funeral of Hector tamer of horses. *Iliad* 24.799-803.

It is clear that regardless of where the original ending was located, the narrative is untidily concluded.¹²³

Despite this unresolved ending, the reader does have knowledge of how later events unfolded. First of all, there is a shared knowledge pool that both the author and the audience are drawing from, a set of cultural facts known by the larger educated society.¹²⁴ Second, allusions within the narrative foreshadow the outcome of events (e.g., the shield of Achilles, 18.478-608).¹²⁵ In fact, a substantial portion of the background material (known even to modern readers and unthinkingly read into the text) is omitted or presented in scanty allusions.¹²⁶ As a result, Homer is not obligated to dictate all of the narrative, as he can trust that his readers will understand the subtleties of the allusions as well as piece together how the narrative would continue to develop.¹²⁷

There are also strong structural parallels between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, although there are greater stylistic issues surrounding the conclusion of the latter. Mackail sums up the issue well: “The end of the *Odyssey*, to put it bluntly, is bungled.”¹²⁸ Although there is no unanimous agreement, there is substantial support, from both ancient and modern scholars, to suppose that the last Homeric line of the *Odyssey* is 23.296 in which Odysseus and Penelope go into the bedchamber and

¹²³ Longinus (*Subl.* 12.9) claims that the *Odyssey* is simply an epilogue to the *Iliad* (ἡ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἐπιλογὴ ἐστὶν ἡ Ὀδυσσεύς).

¹²⁴ G. Yule, *The Study of Language* (4th ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 127–28, who describes “invisible meaning” as “what is meant even when it isn’t actually said or written.” For a discussion of the context of situation in which there may or may not be difficulty in presuppositions, see G. Brown and G. Yule, *Discourse Analysis* (CTL; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 28–50, 79–80; Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 204–25. Cf. Theon, *Prog.* 84.

¹²⁵ For a discussion of the individual scenes on Achilles’ shield and how some of them represent the possible trajectories of Achilles’ life, see O. Taplin, “The Shield of Achilles in the *Iliad*,” *GR* 27 (1980): 1–21.

¹²⁶ Magness, *Sense and Absence*, 30; N. Austin, “The Function of Digressions in the *Iliad*,” *GRBS* 7 (1966): 295–311; R. Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 23–24.

¹²⁷ For example, the reader becomes aware of Achilles’ future death and burial, as well as his physical weakness by which he will die, in the battle between him and Hector in book 20 (20.355–59 and 20.395–98, respectively).

¹²⁸ J.W. Mackail, *Lectures on Greek Poetry* (London: Longmans, 1910), 59; J.B. Bury, “The End of the *Odyssey*,” *JHS* 42 (1922): 1–15, 3.

close the door.¹²⁹ This, however, leaves some storylines developed throughout the text (especially the war) incomplete. If *Od.* 23.296 is the original ending, the substantial number of additions by ancient readers indicates that they were dissatisfied with the lack of resolution.¹³⁰

Similarly, Virgil's *Aeneid* also ends abruptly, possibly taking its cue from Homer's *Iliad*, "So saying, full in his breast he buries the sword with fiery zeal. But the other's limbs grew slack and chill, and with a moan life passed indignant to the Shades below" (12.950-52, Fairclough). Concluding on a note of high tension, the *Aeneid* surprises the reader by immediately ending the narrative after recounting Aeneas' vengeful slaying of Turnus. Though this initially appears to be a questionable place to conclude an empire-founding narrative (especially one dedicated to Augustus), many important foreshadowings are found in a close re-reading of the text. For example, in the beginning of the *Aeneid* there is a reference to the founding of Alba Longa (1.1-7), and on Aeneas' shield (8.617-731) the future of his descendants is pictured.

Such open endings are not limited to epic. In ancient works discussing the genre of history, there is very little discussion about the prescribed form of ending. Lucian's *How to Write History*, although expending significant time on the preface (52-55) and the body (55-56), does not actually take up the issue of how to conclude a work, possibly leaving it open to the author's discretion.¹³¹ Nevertheless, Dionysius of Halicarnassus appears to chastise Thucydides for not adequately completing his narratives (*Thuc.* 10, 12).¹³² In this section, Dionysius identifies specific narratives within the third book of Thucydides' *History* that are not resolved.¹³³ Similarly, in regard to Thucydides' conclusion, Dionysius states:

¹²⁹ "Aristarchus and Aristophanes say that this [23.296] is the end of the *Odyssey*." Eustathius, *Scholia*, ad loc.; Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.116-17 (regarding the Cyrian poems, *Od.* 4.351-52); Bury, "The End of the *Odyssey*," 1-15; S. West, "Laertes Revisited," *PCPhS* 35 (1989): 114-43. For a modern discussion of manuscripts, G. Nagy, *Homer's Text and Language* (Traditions; Urbana: University of Illinois, 2004), 3-24.

¹³⁰ The additional ending has Athena mediating between the two warring parties, "Thus spoke Athena, and Odysseus obeyed her gladly. Then Athena assumed the form and voice of Mentor, and presently made a covenant of peace between the two contending parties" *Od.* 24.545-46.

¹³¹ Although Lucian does encourage his reader to write briefly or even omit secondary and less important aspects of a narrative, I am not entirely convinced of Marguerat's proposal (*First Christian Historian*, 213) that Lucian's comments can be applied to the ending.

¹³² Πρόσεστι δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ μὴ εἰς ἃ ἔδει κεφάλαια τετελευτηκέναι τὴν ἱστορίαν (12). Thucydides' history ends, "And so he came first to Ephesus and offered sacrifice to Artemis" (*Hist.* 8.109).

¹³³ Thucydides, *Hist.* 3.2-14; 15-19; 20-34; 70-85; 86-90; 91-92.

The conclusion of his [Thucydides'] work is tainted by a more serious error. Although he states that he watched the entire course of the war and promises a complete account of it, yet he ends with the sea-fight which took place off Cynossema between the Athenians and Peloponnesians in the twenty-second year of the war. It would have been better, after he had described all the details of the war, to end his History with a most remarkable incident and one right pleasing to his hearers, the return of the exiles from Phyle, which marked the recovery of freedom by the city (Dionysius, *Pomp.* 3).¹³⁴

In contrast to the open-ended conclusions discussed above, ancient romances tend to provide full closure. This understanding comes from the narrative linearity of the five extant Greek novels and their succession of events that lead to a definite end.¹³⁵ For example, Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* concludes with the couple being intimate on their honeymoon. However, just before this the narrative is concluded with "not only that day, but for as long as they lived, they led a pastoral <life> for most of the time."¹³⁶ This, however, does not imply that the story itself is concluded, for it is apparent in the mind of the reader that the characters continue to exist within their narrative world. Rather, it suggests that the events that occurred within the story narrative have reached their natural conclusions.

This sense of conclusion is also prevalent within individual biographies, which usually provide an account of a person from birth to death, as well as of the events and people which led to this life, and the effects of this person's actions that survive his death.¹³⁷ A substantial majority of individual biographies for which we have an

¹³⁴ Translation from W.R. Roberts, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: Three Literary Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901). See also, Dionysius, *Thuc.* 10, 12, 16. Thucydides' work was left incomplete due to his death. Accordingly, it is possible that he would have changed it. This, however, did not hinder the ancients—especially Dionysius—in their negative evaluation of his work.

¹³⁵ T. Hägg, *Narrative Technique in Ancient Greek Romances: Studies of Chariton, Xenophon Ephesius, and Achilles Tatius* (Stockholm: Svenska institutet i Athen, 1971), 310; Magness, *Sense and Absence*, 42-47. For a critique of how R.I. Pervo's *Profit with Delight* frames the ending of Acts, see Wm.F. Brosend, II, "The Means of Absent Ends," in B. Witherington (ed.), *History, Literature and Society in the Book of Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 348-62, 353-54.

¹³⁶ Καὶ [ταῦτα] οὐ τότε μόνον ἀλλ' ἔστε ἔξω τὸν πλεῖστον χρόνον <βίον> ποιμενικὸν εἶχον.

¹³⁷ For similar definitions, although possibly too narrow, see Momigliano, *Development of Greek Biography*, 11. Followed by Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity*, 7; Cooper, "Aristoxenos," 314. For an ancient view, see Eusebius, *Hier.* 3.

extant ending provide an account of the death of the character as well as a discussion of his tomb, epitaph, etc.¹³⁸

Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, however, has elicited some comments regarding its obscure conclusion.¹³⁹ Basing his work on his "source" Damis (*Vit. Apoll.* 1.3), Philostratus recounts the life and deeds of Apollonius.¹⁴⁰ However, unlike Damis who allowed Apollonius to "slip unobserved from life" (λάθε ἀποβιώσας, *Vit. Apoll.* 8.28), Philostratus is not content to have an incomplete ending according to the standards of biographical writing, stating, "The memoirs then of Apollonius of Tyana which Damis the Assyrian composed, end with the above story; for with regard to the manner in which he died, if he did actually die, there are many stories, though Damis has repeated none. But as for myself I ought not to omit even this, for my story should, I think, have its natural ending. Neither has Damis told us anything about the age of our hero..." (*Vit. Apoll.* 8.29).¹⁴¹

Here it is apparent that Philostratus is chastising his source for not fulfilling one of the fundamental features of an individual biography, namely providing the protagonist's final age and the nature of his death. Philostratus rectifies this by supplying various reports given to him. Though the lack of solid details is relatively unsatisfactory, that Philostratus feels compelled to provide details at all is nonetheless telling. Consequently, though not providing an unambiguous death account in his narrative, his attempt eliminates the possibility of his being accused of leaving the ending of his narrative open.¹⁴²

Having discussed the nature of open endings in Greek literature in general, we now turn our attention specifically to collected biographies and their method of

¹³⁸ There are some notable exceptions to this generalization, such as *Vitae Prophetarum*, which recalls the death of the prophet at the commencement of the work, and *Secundus the Silent Philosopher*. See also Appendix 1.

¹³⁹ While Philostratus' work is not the only ancient writing on Apollonius (see also Moeragenes, FGH 1067; Soterichus, *Suda* Σ 877), it is, however, the best represented biography as well as the most referenced. For an overview of the various traditions, see Bowie, "Apollonius of Tyana," 1652-99. Bowie (1692-99) provides an extensive bibliography of the major books and articles written between 1870 and 1976. For a Christian condemnation of this work, see Eusebius, *Against Hierocles*.

¹⁴⁰ There is considerable debate over the identity and veracity of Damis. For a discussion, see J. Flintermann, *Power, Paideia and Pythagoreanism: Greek Identity, Conceptions of the Relationship between Philosophers and Monarchs and Political Ideas in Philostratus' Life of Apollonius* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1995), 79; G. Anderson, "Damis: The Dubious Disciple Discovered?," in *Philostratus: Biography and Belles Lettres in the Second Century A.D.* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 155-74.

¹⁴¹ Supported by Eusebius, *Hier.* 40.

¹⁴² *Contra Magness, Sense and Absence*, 41-42.

conclusion. The insights gained from this discussion will be applied to the ending of Acts.

1.2 Endings in Collected Biographies

In chapter four I proposed dividing collected biographies into three different strains based on composition, title, and organising principle: 1) *Περὶ βίων* and the illustrative types; 2) *Lives of Illustrious Men*; and 3) those that trace a succession of a group, whether philosophers or kings/Caesars. Having provided the necessary overview for organizing collect biographies, we now turn to evaluating their endings and the deaths of the characters. Here we find that there are different types of endings depending on the strain of collected biography evaluated. In fact, the recollection of a character's death is not pertinent to most of these types (with the notable exception of the founder of the philosophical movement). Brosend, echoing the common knowledge about biography, expresses the view that “a biography which fails to narrate the death of its subject was either written before that death occurred, or is incomplete.”¹⁴³ Although this is undoubtedly true for biographies of individuals, it is clearly not the case for all types of collected biographies, as will be shown below.

Primarily focusing on individuals, although groups of people, cities, or nations are also discussed, *Περὶ βίων* is heavily moralizing with its primary function being to encourage virtuous behaviour and dissuade its readers from vice, often using stereotypic examples.¹⁴⁴ Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary nature of these works, it is not possible to consider their endings; however, it is quite likely that the recollection of deaths (if recorded at all) would have been equally as static.

De Viris Illustribus works are structured on a particular organizational pattern of (nearly) discrete discussions of individuals. The works are comprised of modules that recount the deeds and actions of each person,¹⁴⁵ and it is not mandatory for the

¹⁴³ Brosend, “The Means of Absent Ends,” 355.

¹⁴⁴ Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles* III, 58; Cooper, “Aristoxenos,” 323; Klearchos’ *Περὶ βίων* provides a number of examples, such as fr. 43, 44, 46-49, 62.

¹⁴⁵ Due to lack of space Suetonius’ *Lives of the Caesars* will not be fully discussed. However, in this serial succession in which only one person could be Caesar at a time, the death of the subject is always recounted. Furthermore, there is no summary section after the conclusion of the final life.

author to conclude each section with a statement of the person's death. For example, Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* only mentions the deaths of thirty-one of his 134 subjects,¹⁴⁶ and Eunapius speaks of a person's death in only seventeen out of a possible thirty-four opportunities.¹⁴⁷ In contrast, Suetonius in his *De poetis* always provides a reference to the poet's death, although references to death are sparse in his *De rhetoribus* and *De grammaticis*.¹⁴⁸

In addition to lack of closure for individual sections, these works may also lack a conclusion for the work as a whole. A majority of the authors end their narrative with examples of contemporary individuals. Jerome, for example, even includes himself.¹⁴⁹ Concluding with the most current representative is understandable as there are no other lives to recount and the goal of identifying present-day professionals who are exemplary in their field has been achieved. However, this in itself does not provide closure to the work as a whole. Unlike other works that are structured on a narrative arc, collected biographies are (typically) constructed from smaller narrative modules. In this case, a different set of literary expectations is created for the reader, one which desires a summary from the author about the current state of the movement, or a look towards the future. This desire for authorial comments to conclude the work is increased by the amount of first-person narrator references within the works.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, as these works include a literary preface outlining the author's purpose and goals, the lack of summary conclusion results in an unbalanced work.

Regarding accounts of schools and successions, Philodemus and Diogenes Laertius are the primary examples of this type of literature and form part of a larger

¹⁴⁶ Jerome, *Ill.* 2, 5 (of Stephen not Paul), 8, 9, 12, 15, 16, 54, 56, 62, 67, 69, 75, 77, 78, 80, 87, 91, 95, 96, 100, 102, 103, 104, 106, 111, 115, 116, 117, 121, 122. A total 31 references for 134 people (excluding Jerome's discussion of himself in 135).

¹⁴⁷ Eunapius, *Vit. phil.* 457, 461, 462, 464, 470, 472-73, 480, 482, 485, 493, 494 (x2), 496, 497, 499, 504, 505. In the work of Philostratus, the deaths of 29 are provided for 59 subjects. Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 499, 502, 506, 526, 543, 544, 565, 568, 570, 576, 577, 578, 581, 585, 590, 592, 598, 599, 600, 602, 604, 606, 608, 612, 615, 620, 621, 623, 625.

¹⁴⁸ Suetonius, *Gram.* 5, 12, 20; *Rhet.* 6.

¹⁴⁹ Jerome, *Ill.* 135.

¹⁵⁰ For personal references by the author, see Eunapius, *Vit. phil.* 453, 454, 455, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 466, 470, 473, 475 (x2), 476, 477, 478, 480, 481 (x2), 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 491, 493, 495, 500 (x2), 502, 503, 504, 505; Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 479, 480, 483, 484, 486, 488, 491, 492 (x2), 494, 496, 497, 498, 499, 502, 503, 504, 506, 514, 515 (x2), 516, 520, 523, 524, 527, 536, 537, 540, 543, 549, 550, 552, 562, 564, 565, 566, 567, 574, 576, 582, 583, 585, 587, 590, 593, 595, 597, 598, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 612, 613, 615, 617, 620, 626, 627, 628.

stream of such writings. For example, Aristoxenus' *Περὶ τοῦ Πυθαγορικοῦ βίου* and *Περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ* provide details about Pythagoras' disciples. Although Aristoxenus does not provide full biographical details, some of the disciples' deaths are recounted (Pherecydes fr. 14; Lysis and Xenophilos fr. 20a; Gorgias fr. 20b). Importantly, in these biographies a disciple is never cast as being equal or superior to the founder, especially in the manner of his death. Philodemus', *Index Stoicorum* and *Index Academicorum* provide biographical details and episodic accounts. Unfortunately, due to their fragmentary nature a specific tally of recounted deaths is not possible. However, a survey of the work suggests that not every disciple's death is mentioned.¹⁵¹

As previously discussed, Diogenes' *Lives* is fundamentally based on the founder-successors of ten different philosophical schools (αἰρέσεις, 1.18). Diogenes further subdivides each of his ten books according to the individuals in focus, and in these subsections a number of *topoi* are employed.¹⁵² An explicit purpose statement is missing from the prologue of Diogenes' work; however, there are a few passages that provide insight into his motivation for writing and that suggest that Diogenes was particularly interested in the founders, successors and the advancement of the teaching rather than in a detailed outlining of the philosophical system to which they held.¹⁵³

On the other hand, there is a brief conclusion in which Diogenes states his intention to conclude his work with Epicurus' "Sovereign Maxims" (10.139-54), "Come, then, let me set the seal, so to say, on my entire work as well as on this philosopher's life by citing his Sovereign Maxims, therewith bringing the whole

¹⁵¹ For explicit references to death, see P.Herc. 1018, cols. 26-27; P.Herc. 1021, cols. 3, 34.

¹⁵² Typically *topoi* include: Origin, Education, Foundation/Succession, Appearance/Qualities, Political Activities, Students/Disciples, Other Important Events, Anecdotes, Apophthegms, Chronological Data, Account of Death, Writings, Doctrines, Personal Documents, Homonyms. See Sollenberger, "The Lives of the Peripatetics," 3800-801; Hahm, "Diogenes Laertius VII," 4083. Alexander posits 11 *topoi*, see Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 50-56.

¹⁵³ Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 2. For example, in book five, Diogenes only provides the doctrines of Aristotle, but provides a large number of biographical facts for Aristotle and his successors. For a helpful chart of book five, see Sollenberger, "The Lives of the Peripatetics," 3803. Fraser has suggested that succession is the main feature of Diogenes' work. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1.453, 781; see also, Hahm, "Diogenes Laertius VII," 4083, esp. for Zeno and Cleanthes.

With this being said, one of the main differences between Diogenes' *Lives* and other biographies, such as those by Plutarch, is that Diogenes fails to provide specific ethical *exempla*, either positive or negative, except for the general recommendation of a life of philosophy. Warren, "Diogenes Laertius," 148. Cox Miller, "Strategies of Representation in Collected Biography," 218-19.

work to a close and making the end of it to coincide with the beginning of happiness” (10.138).¹⁵⁴ This recounting of the philosopher’s maxims is unique within the work and forms a puzzling ending. Nevertheless, Diogenes’ statement itself does provide a conclusion for the reader.¹⁵⁵

In contrast to book ten, in which there is no succession, Diogenes’ other books do not provide substantial biographical material on the disciples, often not even referencing their deaths.¹⁵⁶ In these successions it is not so much the philosopher who is important, but rather the tradition which he carries. The notable exception to this is the tradition’s founder, who is the focus of a majority of the book and whose death is always recorded. As a result, the endings of the particular books are open and unresolved, leaving room for the continuation of the narrative.¹⁵⁷ This is paralleled in Eunapius’ and Philostratus’ *Lives* who both lack a formal conclusion and so leave their narratives open, ready to add further lives.

Although my discussion has been brief, it is clear that open endings are common for collected biographies, both for sub-units and for the work as a whole. Though open endings are found in other genres, they take on a different function within collect biographies. It is difficult to assign overarching motivations for all of these works, but one of the consistent features is that the omission of the death of a disciple, as well as the lack of closure at the end of the succession, place the focus of the work on the idea of succession, and privileges the role of the founder and his teaching(s). With this in mind, we now turn to an interpretation of the ending of Acts.

2. Ending of Acts

In Acts 28:16 Paul arrives in Rome, which serves as the narrative setting for the remainder of the work. Over the course of the Acts narrative, Luke has been

¹⁵⁴ Καὶ φέρε οὖν δὴ νῦν τὸν κολοφῶνα, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἐπιθῶμεν τοῦ παντὸς συγγράμματος καὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, τὰς Κυρίας αὐτοῦ δόξας παραθέμενοι καὶ ταύταις τὸ πᾶν σύγγραμμα κατακλείσαντες, τέλει χρῆσάμενοι τῇ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἀρχῇ.

¹⁵⁵ Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, 15-16, who challenges the view that Diogenes’ work was left unfinished.

¹⁵⁶ For example, in books 6-10, there are only 22 references to the subject’s death. Diogenes, 6.18, 76-79, 95, 98; 7.28-31, 164, 176, 184-85; 8.39-40, 44-45, 52, 78, 84, 90; 9.3-5, 26-27, 43, 55, 59, 110-12; 10.15, 23, 25.

¹⁵⁷ Diogenes makes comments as the narrator in 1.122; 2.144; 4.67; 6.105; 8.91. These, however, do not actually summarise the previous book or provide closure to the successor tradition, but rather act as isolated transitions to the next book.

building up to Paul's arrival in Rome and his predicted trial before Caesar; however, instead of this trial, the author portrays Paul gathering the leading Jewish citizens, informing them about his arrest and seeking to convince them about Jesus from the Law and the Prophets. This is met with mixed reactions, some accepting Paul's claims regarding Jesus as the messiah, and others going away unconvinced. As a response to their unbelief, Paul chastises the Jews, citing Isaiah 6:9-10, declaring that God's salvation has been sent to the gentiles, who will listen. Following this, there is a brief statement that Paul spent two years in Rome preaching, after which the narrative ends.

In the discussions regarding the closing of Acts mentioned above, commentators question the ending because it leaves unfinished much of the Pauline narrative. This is exemplified by Witherington's assertion, "If Acts is biography, it would seem clearly to be an unfinished work, for the audience is left suspended in midair, waiting to hear about the fate of the hero of the last half of the book."¹⁵⁸ This statement by Witherington is interesting in that it presupposes that the conclusion of Paul's life is foundationally important in biographical traditions. Though it is true that in individual biographies the death of the main character is one of the most important features, this is not the case for collected biography.

Acts is not an individual biography in which all of the formal features of a life are required. Rather, the portrayal of Paul is embedded within a larger narrative and literary work in which the gospel of Jesus is the most important feature, not the individual disciples. Though the focus on Paul is an important component of the Acts narrative—particularly in light of the amount of storyline it entails—an emphasis on a single disciple is not the focus of collected succession biographies. On the contrary, the disciples are only important due to their fidelity to the message of the founder, for it is the message that is paramount.

The death of a disciple was not a requisite feature of collected biographies, and so Paul's death could be unproblematically omitted.¹⁵⁹ The omission of Paul's death parallels that of Peter, the other main character in Acts, and further supports the idea that Luke intentionally left out this detail. The symmetry in the handling of these two characters, concluding their narrative as they are continuing their ministry,

¹⁵⁸ Witherington, *Acts*, 808.

¹⁵⁹ For Peter's death, see *Acts Peter* 37-41.

parallels the treatment of disciples in collected biographies and focuses the narrative on the teacher and his teaching.

It is possible, moreover, that Paul was becoming too large a character and so a fully detailed trial and death would have detracted from the reader's focus on the Gospel message and would have shifted it to the person of Paul.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, Acts is not a martyrology of Paul and does not require his death: "[Luke] did not see it as his task to enhance devotion to the martyrs."¹⁶¹ Paul, in being a faithful minister and preacher, had already done his important work by bringing the Gospel to the gentiles. True, Paul's appearance before Caesar (if it happened at all) would have been interesting, even inspiring, but it would have possibly risked creating too many parallels between Paul and Jesus. In fact there is a strong possibility that Paul's trial in Rome before Caesar might have overshadowed that of Jesus, who was only judged by a minor administrator in a troubled province. Furthermore, as there would not have been the miraculous resurrection for Paul that there was for Jesus, the conclusion of Acts would have presented a vastly different feeling and perspective of the early church and thus a different message to its readers.¹⁶²

Consequently, it was important for Luke to turn the focus of the narrative away from Paul and his upcoming peril and towards the message Paul was preaching. As a result, Acts 28:30-31 presents Paul in relative safety "preaching the kingdom of God and teaching concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness, unhindered" (κηρύσσων τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διδάσκων τὰ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας ἀκωλύτως). The abrupt ending and the mention of the message and the "things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ" (τὰ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) refer the reader back to the beginning of the narrative (1:1). By not providing a neatly-tied ending, the reader is forced back into the narrative in order to find the details he or she desires.¹⁶³ In addition to this, the author may have assumed

¹⁶⁰ For an outline of the numerous parallels between Paul and Jesus within Luke-Acts, see Puskas, *The Conclusion of Luke-Acts*, 68-69, 115-25.

¹⁶¹ Haenchen, *Acts*, 732.

¹⁶² G.W. Trompf, "On Why Luke Declined to Recount the Death of Paul: Acts 27-28 and Beyond," in C.H. Talbert (ed.), *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (New York: Crossroads, 1984), 225-39, 232.

¹⁶³ Brosend, in describing the looping effect which connects the ending of Acts to the beginning of Luke, supplies the image of a snake eating its own tail, or the complimentary image of having the reader snaking back through the text to the beginning. Brosend, "The Means of Absent Ends," 362.

that he and his readers had a shared knowledge pool and knew Paul's fate, and so could count on them to know how Paul's story ends.

Similarly, there are many linguistic parallels with the beginning of Acts. For example, there is effectively an *inclusio* of "teach" (διδάσκειν) in Acts 1:1 (of Jesus) and 28:31 (of Paul).¹⁶⁴ Likewise, the references to the kingdom of God in Luke 1:2; Acts 1:3; 28:23 and 31 serve to highlight this theme in Luke and Acts and to reiterate its fundamental place of importance.¹⁶⁵ Ultimately, the ending of Acts refocuses the reader on the preaching of the kingdom of God, emphasising the fact that it is the message, not the messenger, that is of the utmost importance.

That the work has this open ending is also an important characteristic of succession biographies in that it facilitates the understanding that the message is not limited to the confines of the narrative. In the case of Acts, the message continues in the lives of the readers and other Christian disciples.¹⁶⁶ Also, that pertinent details of Paul's death and other events of the early church (such as the death of Peter) were omitted from Acts shifts the responsibility of narrative from Luke to his informed readers, who are now engaged to share the message with others.¹⁶⁷

Conclusion

In these last two chapters we have looked at the way that Luke has intentionally presented characters in Acts in such a way as to indicate their relation to and placement inside or outside the Christian movement. These representations have been particularly illuminated through a comparison with collected biographies, in which a person is presented in terms of his role within a movement and his relationship with that movement's founder. This emphasis can be seen throughout

Making use of the literary and rhetorical technique of silent endings, Luke was able to subtly disclose to his readers pertinent ideas about Paul's trial without compromising the integrity of the collected biography narrative.

¹⁶⁴ Pervo, *Acts*, 36 n.40.

¹⁶⁵ The kingdom of God is an important theme in both Luke and Acts: Luke 4:43; 6:20; 7:28; 8:1, 10; 9:2, 11, 27, 60, 62; 10:9, 11; 11:20; 13:18, 20, 28, 29; 14:15; 16:16; 17:20, 21; 18:16, 17, 24, 25, 29; 19:11; 21:31; 22:16, 18; 23:51 Acts 8:12; 14:22; 19:8.

¹⁶⁶ Maddox, *Purpose*, 77.

¹⁶⁷ K.R. Maxwell, *Hearing Between the Lines: The Audience as Fellow-Worker in Luke-Acts and its Literary Milieu* (LNTS 425; London: Continuum, 2010), 90.

Acts and appears to be one of Luke's primary considerations in the composition of his work.

The opening of Acts, for example, explicitly links the actions and teachings of the disciples with the continuation of Jesus' ministry in a way that is parallel to the connection of philosophers and their disciples. Furthermore, there is a strong emphasis on delineating Jesus' followers, most notably through disciple lists and successive portrayals, which are akin to devices found throughout collected biographies. In addition to identifying which disciples are representative of the authoritative tradition, collected biographies occasionally made reference to those who were not "true" disciples or members. Luke also segregates those characters that might appear to be part of the Christian movement, but in actuality are not (e.g., Judas, Ananias and Sapphira, Simon Magus, and the sons of Sceva).

Luke does not only provide vignettes, but also allocates larger narrative sections to lead Christian members (e.g., Peter, Stephen, Philip, and Paul). This emphasis on a movement's prominent adherents and the advancement of its message is understandable and parallels the foci of other collected biographies of the time. Also, as the concept of imitation is one of the most important aspects of collected biography, the contrast between in-group and out-group members becomes even more important, as both individual and collected biographies provide a template for readers to emulate in their appropriation of a philosophical teaching.¹⁶⁸ This aspect was widely known in the ancient world. Reading (Luke-)Acts as a collected/succession biography assists us in understanding how Peter, Paul and the other disciples presented a pattern for imitation for the Christian community.¹⁶⁹

Finally, interpreting the ending of Acts in light of collected biographies provides a reading of the text that not only takes the existing ending as an intentional and meaningful composition by the author, but also addresses some of the major interpretive issues. Accordingly, the final shift of focus away from Paul to the preaching of the kingdom of God in the ending of Acts reminds the reader that it is the preaching of the message and a disciple's faithful adherence to and proclamation of it that is ultimately important, not the disciple himself.

¹⁶⁸ Lucian, *Demon.* 2; Seneca, *Ep.* 6.5.

¹⁶⁹ Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 47-48; Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 134.

As is apparent from this analysis of the Acts narrative, appreciating the purpose in Luke's identification and depiction of Jesus' followers is vital for interpreting this work. Although each section of text may have a variety of different interpretations, fundamental to each scene is Luke's portrayal and association of its character(s) to either the in-group or the out-group. It is from this perspective that Luke expects his audience to draw conclusions regarding events. Accordingly, a failure to identify properly what camp each character is in fundamentally undermines the interpretive process and, therefore, misses the intention of the work.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

That Acts has resisted genre labelling for so long should not be troubling, as scholars have been attempting to place ancient literary works into rigid genre categories. Bollansée rightly notes that one of the problems in identifying a work's genre is with scholars who "have high expectations for, and make great demands on, a genre which *on the surface* bears some obvious similarities to its present counterpart ... but which in antiquity unquestionably served different purposes."¹ As we gain greater understanding of modern and ancient genres, simplistic and anachronistic genre equations are minimised.

Why Did Luke Choose Collected Biography?

Talbert, in his focus on succession, claims that Luke's selection of genre was rooted in the *Sitz im Leben* of his community: "The Lucan community was one that was troubled by a clash of views over the legitimate understanding of Jesus and the nature of the Christian life. The Evangelist needed to be able to say both *where* the true tradition was to be found in his time (i.e., with the successors of Paul and of the Twelve) and *what* the content of that tradition was (i.e., how the apostles lived and what they taught, seen as rooted in the career of Jesus)."²

Although I am partial to Talbert's view of what Luke was attempting to accomplish with (Luke-)Acts, I disagree with his claim that Luke and Acts developed in response to a struggle against heresy.³ That Luke wished to outline the authentic members of the Christian community is understandable in light of the sociological desire to delineate oneself and define one's own space. This need would be particularly strong for a new, fledgling movement, especially for one moving away from its parent religion. Furthermore, if Luke was attempting to emphasise for Theophilus the certainty of the things he had been taught (Luke 1:4), then it was reasonable for Luke to identify the key holders of tradition. After Jesus' departure the locus of authority shifted to the disciples, especially Peter, and after the gospel spread beyond Jerusalem, the primary representative of Christianity was Paul (at

¹ Bollansée, *Hermippos*, 186. Italics his.

² Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 135.

³ Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 130, 135.

least in Luke's presentation). Moreover, if, as some have claimed, Theophilus was a god-fearer living outside of Jerusalem, Luke's story of the development of the Christian faith to include gentiles was vastly pertinent for Theophilus' Christian narrative.⁴

If delineating the Christian movement's expansion is the primary reason for Luke's writing (though clearly not his only reason), then "collected biographies"—particularly that derived from the philosophical tradition—provides the best genre fit, as its ordering principle delineates and traces the relationships between a master and his disciples. That Luke did not solely wish to identify Jesus' disciples is indicated by the incorporation of other narrative sections. Nevertheless, Luke's inclusion of narrative within the collected biography frame should not obscure his intention of identifying the followers of Jesus after his departure.

It is these insights that provide a satisfactory answer to why Luke felt the need to write Acts in addition to his gospel. The Gospels, although informative for understanding the life and teaching of Jesus, do not provide an adequate account of the Christian movement's expansion or where the locus of authority lay. It can be gleaned from them that the eleven disciples were holders of Jesus' teachings, but the Gospels do not account for what happened after Christianity's rapid expansion, the inclusion of the gentiles, the development of new church offices, the rise of Paul and James, or the death of some of the original apostles. It is my proposal that all of these events led Luke to think that his Gospel would be insufficient for Theophilus' education and that the writing of Acts was necessary.

Overview and Contributions

One of the primary contributions of this study is to model a fluid and flexible perspective on literary genre. Traditionally, ancient genres have been defined in terms of formal features and content elements, often in comparison with their modern counterparts.⁵ Modern scholars tend to identify what they believe are the characteristic features of a work and then evaluate those features in light of what they

⁴ Though dedicated to an actual Theophilus it is apparent that Luke desired for Luke and Acts to engage a wider audience than just this one reader.

⁵ Bollansée, *Hermippos*, 186.

have previously determined to characterise particular genres. Though a focus on formal, textual features is vital for the generic labelling of a work, attempting to classify a work solely by applying rigid categories loses sight of the individuality of the work. Furthermore, because it is difficult to adapt rigid genre categories to individual expressions of those genres, this practice leads to the proliferation of genre categories.

Building on the idea that strict application of rigid formal features is fundamentally problematic, identifying genres is not an exact science with rigid formulae and boundaries, but an evaluation of a dynamic system whose internal boundaries are constantly in flux.⁶ A work may also be classified within a particular generic grouping despite the fact that it lacks some particular formal features. This is not to say that a work lacking *all* relevant formal features can be included within a genre. Rather, it proposes that a work may be considered biography even if it does not have all the formal features typically associated with that genre and some features from other genres. This understanding produces a generic range or clustering in which works that have a majority of categorical features center in the middle and those that have fewer characteristic features are placed at the periphery. Although individual genre features continue to be evaluated and assessed, the genre of any text is only discernible to us through the structure and organization of the whole.⁷ This perspective has been developed by Wellek and Warren, who have argued that genre should be conceived as “a grouping of literary works based, theoretically, upon both outer form (specific metre or structure) and also upon inner form (attitude, tone, purpose—more crudely, subject and audience). The ostensible basis may be one or the other ... but the critical problem will then be to find the *other* dimension, to complete the diagram.”⁸

In this study the “other” dimension has been supplied by an understanding of literary development derived from the concepts of genre hierarchy and adaptation, which are significant as they provide a nuanced way to investigate the interrelated nature of genres. Regarding genre hierarchy, it is apparent that cultural preferences, often prescribed by the elite, dictate and influence which genres are preferred and

⁶ Wellek and Warren, *Theory of Literature*, 224.

⁷ Peterson, “So-Called Gnostic Type,” 422; Shuler, *Genre*, 30.

⁸ Wellek and Warren, *Theory of Literature*, 231.

which are avoided. It is these cultural preferences that shape literary construction and the prevalence of particular genres in any given epoch. These literary and cultural preferences, however, are far from stable, especially during turbulent times in which one culture is conquered by another, installing a new elite group with new literary preferences. In tumultuous times in which there is a change in cultural elite—as can be witnessed in the Hellenistic era through the conquest by the Romans—new literary preferences emerge that better suit the cultural outlook of the newly-dominant elite.⁹ Latins had different literary emphasises and preferences than Greeks and so did not invest time in or support particular Greek literary genres. This being said, the Latins were not hesitant to take Greek literary forms and imbue them with Roman characteristics; as a result, fields like history and oratory became more practical and legally focused.¹⁰ This shift in the dominant culture from Greek to Latin precipitated a blending of literary forms and emphases and set the stage for a shift in genre hierarchy.

Generic hybridity and adaptation are predicated on generic relatedness and compatibility. Often initiated through cultural interaction and authorial creativity, the development and blending of genres reshapes the landscape of generic boundaries. An author may adapt (either intentionally or unintentionally) a genre in order to meet the compositional needs of the moment, resulting in an original composition. As a result, an understanding of genre categories as fixed and prescriptive fails to recognise that literary evolution was widespread throughout the Greek and Roman eras, especially with biographies.

It is this fluidity and development that are showcased in chapter four and appendix four. The investigation in chapter four provides a number of initial observations for understanding biography beginning in the literary milieu of the Hellenistic era. First, genres in general and biography specifically have a large amount of functional flexibility which allow them to be utilised in a variety of ways in order to meet the literary needs of the author and the audience.¹¹ That biographies

⁹ Despite the fact that the Romans thoroughly adopted Greek culture, they still maintained a preference for particular forms of writing and genres. E.g., Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.99; 10.1.123.

¹⁰ Atkins, *Literary Criticism*, 8; Cairns, *Generic Composition*, 92-97. In chapter four there are a number of examples of how Latins preferred political and military biography over philosophical biographies that were preferred by the Greeks.

¹¹ Gentili and Cerri, *History and Biography*, 68, 84. See also Appendix 4.

were used so diversely in this era (from encomium to collections to moralistic modeling) indicates that their functionality made this broad type of writing an ideal candidate for generic ingenuity. As a result, biographical narratives vary in relationship to the specific functions they assume and the particular historical contexts and literary environments they were written in. Although at particular times certain types of biographies were preferred, the variety of biographical forms and their chronological overlap indicate that there was room for generic experimentation and authorial preference.

Second, scholars need to resist creating artificial or rigid boundaries between different prose genres. As indicated above, there is a strong relationship between history and biography before, after, and throughout the Hellenistic period. Momigliano and others identify the origins of biography in general as developing from history,¹² and Geiger states that political biography in particular developed in the first century BC out of the history genre.¹³ Scholarly discussions on Diogenes Laertius, moreover, suggest that the history genre strongly influenced his work. These connections suggest that within the Greco-Roman literary setting history writings may have exerted influence on biography, although to varying degrees at different times and with different authors.

Third, there are formal and functional features that differentiate the biography genre from history. Most notable are a consistent focus on the individual and an inclusion of biographical data and *topoi* (e.g., birth, nationality, ancestry, education, appearance, career/deeds, literary works, style, character, piety, family, death, tomb, wills) and the structure of the work on the presentation of characters. This emphasis on the person, however, is not to the exclusion of discussion of historical events, but rather a biography frames events within the boundaries of an individual's life and his role within said events.¹⁴ Collected biographies, particularly those concerned with political or philosophical succession, subsume these lives within the larger developmental arc of the specific school or tradition in focus. So, though the lives of particular individuals create sub-units within the larger works, those lives are often

¹² Momigliano, *Development of Greek Biography*, 41; Gentili and Cerri, *History and Biography*, 62.

¹³ Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 30

¹⁴ As discussed above, the differences between the different types of biographies account for the variation in historical emphases.

connected and overlap as those individuals interact. These ties create cohesion within the work as a whole and assist in the development of the different narratives.

Finally, in evaluating the development of biography as a whole, there appears to be a distinct preference for collected biography. This is not to say that there were not individual biographies. Clearly there were. Yet a large majority of extant biographies do not focus on isolated individuals, but describe a collection of lives. This emphasis on collected biographies has led L. Alexander to suggest that collected biography was the dominant biographical form for intellectual subjects by the first century AD.¹⁵

In the first century, there appears to be substantial adaptation of the biography genre and especially collected biographies. This genre flexibility is evident in two of Luke's literary contemporaries, Plutarch and Philo, whose use of biography showcases its flexibility and that it invited adaptation. As further discussed in appendix four, not only did these contemporaries of Luke adapt the basic biography mould, they continually re-modelled it throughout their careers. As a result, while Plutarch's and Philo's works are recognised as biographies, they represent a large spectrum within this genre and substantially blur the boundaries between biography, history, rhetoric, and philosophical prose.

A similar sense of ingenuity can be witnessed also in the organisational principles of Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, Nepos' *De Viris Illustribus*, and other contemporary collected biographies. All of these works, in their time, pushed the boundaries of biography and interacted with other Greek prose genres in novel ways. Accordingly, it is apparent that within the first century AD there was an understanding among prose writers that generic innovation and adaptation were acceptable practices and that the biography genre was particularly vulnerable to alteration.

Chapters five to seven applied the above genre theory to Acts. Chapter five evaluated the external, structural features and the internal, content features of Acts and how they relate to ancient genres, particularly collected biographies. First, there

¹⁵ Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 61. Similarly Geiger (*Cornelius Nepos*, 79) states, "Greek biographical writing was concerned with series of Lives of men: not with the personality in its individual apartness, but in the typical and characteristic for a whole category of men."

are too few formal parallels between Acts and epic and Acts and novel for them to provide a good generic fit. Second, Acts and history have some structural and content parallels that indicate a certain level of genre relatedness. However, as was shown in chapter five, specific features of Acts (subject, organisational principle, *topoi*) challenge this genre association.

Conversely, Acts has the greatest number of genre similarities with biography: opening features, subject, setting, style/register, atmosphere, audience, a lack of explicit social setting, and minimal quality of characterisation. There are, however, certain features that Acts shares with collected biographies that are not part of standard individual biographies. First, Acts does not have only one protagonist, but presents numerous individuals who adhere to the Christian faith. This is a notable genre feature that differentiates Acts from other ancient genres, particularly those of novel, epic and individual biographies. Second, the specific *topoi* utilised in Acts (esp. succession, teacher/student relationship, words/deeds, etc.) are closest to those used by philosophical collected biographies. Third, the organising principle of Acts is grounded on the identification of disciples who are part of the Jesus movement. This way of organising a work is particular to collected biographies.

It is in light of this comparison that we approach Acts as a modified collected biography. When evaluating Acts in light of philosophical collected-biographies one of the most striking differences is the divergence in scale of the description of the acts and sayings of disciples between Acts and other collected biographies. In other collected biographies, as is evidenced by Diogenes Laertius, disciples are often given short, pithy excerpts rather than developed narratives. This is not always the case, however, as some disciples, such as Aristippus, Theophrastus, and Diogenes have a number of their exploits recalled.¹⁶

This change from small excerpts to larger narrative has posed a problem for placing Acts within a strict philosophical collected biography classification. That Jesus' disciples are allocated substantial narrative space, especially Paul who is the main protagonist for the second half the book, and that this narrative is connected to a larger story arc, seem to resist the typical template of biography, though there were

¹⁶ Aristippus, 2.65-104; Theophrastus, 5.36-57; Diogenes, 6.20-81. Although there is some narrative about these disciples it is rather abrupt and centers on questions posed to the philosopher, or various events within his life, not in any real chronological order. See, however, chapter six.

some notable exceptions. As indicated in chapter five, a sustained narrative is a feature of histories and individual biographies and Acts' use likely derives from such genres.

As noted in the discussion of the hierarchy of genre, Luke's incorporation of extended prose narrative sections (as found within history) could be interpreted as an attempt to include prestigious features in order to raise his work's literary calibre. However, given some precedent for narrative expansion within ancient literature, it is also possible to suggest that Luke was evolving the philosophic collected biography genre through *macrologia*, or increase in scale.¹⁷ This does not necessarily imply a thorough transformation of genre, although the change in scale, along with other features, has been taken by some to justify a new generic label.¹⁸ Rather, Luke's narrative expansion reemphasises the evolutionary nature of his work.¹⁹

Understanding power relations helps to determine whether Luke incorporated historical narrative features into collected biography, or biographical features into history. It is most common for power to be exerted downward, meaning that the more influential genre will have a proportionately greater effect on less influential genres. As a result, the dominant literary form will be most inflexible and highly resistant to the incorporation of "inferior" literary features. Conversely, subordinate genres will more readily take on characteristics of dominant genres. The number of genre parallels between Acts and collected biography support the view that Acts is a modified biography, rather than a modified history.

Working from the perspective that Acts is a modified collected biography, there are a number of interpretive payoffs to highlight. First, Acts clearly focuses on the disciples, apostles, and believers who are members of the Way. This emphasis on a movement's adherents and the advancement of its message is understandable and parallels the foci of other collected biographies. Furthermore, there is a strong emphasis on delineating Jesus' followers, most notably through disciple lists and successive portrayals. This emphasis is akin to those found throughout the collected biography tradition.

¹⁷ Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 172.

¹⁸ Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 173.

¹⁹ So, Twelftree's claim (*People of the Spirit*, 8) that Acts is composed of "biographical narratives of Jesus' early followers".

In tandem with this is Luke's delineation of the relationship between Jesus and the disciples. Both in the preface of Acts and throughout the narrative, Luke indicates that the deeds and actions of the disciples should be understood as a continuation of Jesus' ministry. Similarly, the message that they preach, the "kingdom of God," is the teaching of their master. Luke emphasises this message rather than the individual disciples themselves; the message also helps readers identify "true" disciples. In addition to preaching the distinctive message of the gospel, the disciples in Acts may also be identified by the presence and action of the Holy Spirit. Miraculous signs and healings are characteristic of Christians in Acts. These miracles are not accomplished through the disciples' own power, but are done with the assistance of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, true disciples do not claim the glory of these miracles for themselves, but rather perform them in Jesus' name, attributing the credit to him. Luke's attribution of the disciples' teaching and deeds to their master is consistent with the portrayal of characters within philosophical collected biographies and should be understood in this light. As a result, all interpretations of Acts need to take into account the characters in the passage and how Luke is attempting to frame them.

Second, in addition to highlighting the disciples, Luke consistently delineates in-group and out-group members, particularly through an interaction with either Peter or Paul. At strategic places in the Acts narrative Luke recounts particular characters' encounters with Peter or Paul in ways that clarify those characters' relationship to the Christian movement (e.g., Ananias and Sapphira, Simon Magus, the seven sons of Sceva, etc.). Although the emphasis on association with Peter or Paul is likely due to the large amount of narrative assigned to these two disciples, this emphasis, nevertheless, stresses the function of the interaction; by having Peter and Paul, the dominant figures of the Christian movement, confront and/or pass judgement on opponents, Luke clearly indicates the exclusion of those persons from the Christian community.

Third, Luke's allocation of large narrative sections to his two key Christian members, Peter and Paul, should be understood in terms of highlighting a teacher's most important disciples. This emphasis on a movement's prominent adherents is understandable and parallels features of other collected biographies. Similarly, these

key followers, as well as the other disciples, present a pattern for imitation for the Christian community and model how an ideal Christian should act and teach.²⁰

Finally, interpreting the ending of Acts in light of the collected biographies provides a reading of the text that not only takes the existing ending as an intentional composition by the author, but also explains some of the major interpretive problems. Accordingly, the shift away from Paul to the preaching of the kingdom of God reminds the reader that it is the preaching of the message and a disciple's faithful adherence to and proclamation of it that are ultimately important, not the disciple himself. Furthermore, in Classical and Hellenistic literature, it was a standard literary feature to leave the ending open in order to encourage readers to go back through the text to find answers or hints regarding events that occurred after the close of the narrative proper. As a result, though a number of scholars have found the ending of Acts to be lacking, both in terms of closure and climax, understanding the ending in light of Greco-Roman literary practice and collected biography's focus allows for an interpretation of Acts that not only recognises that the ending is an intentional composition, but also appreciates its literary sophistication.

As is apparent from this analysis of the Acts narrative, understanding Luke's identification and depiction of Jesus' followers in terms of in-group and out-group members is vital for interpreting Acts. Although each section of text may have a variety of different interpretations, fundamental to each scene is Luke's portrayal and association of its characters to either the in-group or out-group. It is from this perspective that Luke expects his audience to draw conclusions regarding the events and to derive the theological import of the passage.

Conversely, there are two avenues previously pursued by other scholars that have resulted in misinterpretation. First, there has been a failure to recognise that Luke's delineation of groups is the key for understanding Acts, and second there has been a failure to identify properly in what camp to place each character. Both of these oversights have fundamentally undermined the interpretive process and missed the authorial intention of the work which led to Luke's selection of this particular genre.

In light of these interpretive insights it is clear that Acts is best understood as a collected biography. This identification is significant as the genres of history, epic,

²⁰ Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography," 47-48; Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 134.

novel, and scientific treatise do not frame Acts in a way that captures the author's emphasis on the role and importance of the individual and the promulgation of the gospel. These other genres also function differently and do not provide a distinct focus on the relationship between teacher and disciple.

Understanding Acts as a collected biography also satisfactorily addresses the interpretive issue of the generic relationship between Luke and Acts. Given the growing widespread acceptance of Burridge's proposal that Luke is best understood as a biography and the strong narrative connection between these two works (e.g., Acts 1:1), this study has the interpretive payoff of aligning Luke and Acts more closely. This provides a fitting perspective on Luke-Acts as a whole.

In conclusion, this study has laid the groundwork for approaching Luke-Acts as a two-volume biographical work. As this is the first monograph-length study that argues that the genre of Acts is biography, it is clear that further work is both needed and possible. There is room for fuller treatment of Luke's portrayal of both Peter and Paul in relationship with depictions of individuals in other ancient biographies, particularly those that allocate large narrative sections to key disciples. Similarly, this study highlights the importance of understanding Luke's depiction of disciples in his Gospel and how their representation changes throughout the narrative of Luke and Acts. Overall, understanding the genre of Acts as collected biography provides the best interpretive payoff and affords new and exciting avenues for future investigation.

APPENDIX 1: LITERARY *TOPOI* IN ANCIENT GREEK BIOGRAPHIES

This appendix provides a collection of primary references of formal features that are typically found in ancient biographies. Although a number of sections have substantial references, it should be noted that it is not my intention to provide a complete or exhaustive list of citations. Rather, these references assist in controlling unwieldy footnotes, provide a unified set of references, and will, hopefully, provide a platform for further study. To facilitate this, each section will be ordered alphabetically, first by author (given in bold) and then by work. Anonymous works are ordered by work title and are located at the head of each section.

Finally, it is also important to note that these categories are not always discrete, but have some significant overlap depending on the writer. While this is unavoidable, I have attempted to reference the passages in the appropriate section(s).

Birth

Vita Aeschlyli, 2; *Vita Euripide*, 3-4, 19-20; *Vita Sophoclis*, 2; **Athanasius**, *Vit. Ant.* 1; **Diogenes**, 1.45; 3.2; 10.14-15; **Iamblichus**, *Pyth.* 5; **Isocrates**, *Evag.* 21; **Marinus**, *Proc.* 3; **Philo**, *Mos.* 1.5; **Philostratus**, *Vit. Ap.* 1.5; *Vit. soph.* 503; **Plutarch**, *Gal.* 19.2; *Num.* 3.4; *Rom.* 2-4; *Sol.* 1.1-2; *Thes.* 4.1; **Ps.-Herodotus**, *Vita Homeri*, 3, 38; **Soranus**, *Vit. Hip.* 3; **Suetonius**, *Aug.* 5-6; *Claud.* 2; *Dom.* 1; *Galb.* 4-5; *Nero* 6-7; *Otho* 2; *Tib.* 5; *Tit.* 1-3; *Vesp.* 2; *Vit.* 3; **Tacitus**, *Agr.* 44;

Nationality/Birth City

Certamen, 2; *Vita Aeschlyli*, 1; *Vita Aristophanes*, 2; *Vita Euripide*, 3; *Vita Pindari*, 1; *Vita Sophoclis*, 1; **Diogenes**, 1.22, 45, 68, 74, 82, 89, 94, 106, 109, 116; 2.1, 3, 6, 16, 18, 48, 60, 65, 105, 106, 113, 121, 122, 124, 125; 3.1; 4.1, 6, 16, 21, 24, 28, 46, 59, 62, 67; 5.1, 36, 58, 65, 75, 86; 6.1, 20, 82, 84, 85, 94, 96, 99; 7.1, 160, 165, 167, 168, 177, 179; 8.1, 54, 78, 79, 83, 84, 86; 9.1, 18, 21, 24, 25, 30, 34, 50, 57, 58, 61; 10.1; **Eunapius**, *Vit. phil.* 455, 457, 461, 466, 481, 482, 486, 490, 494, 495, 496, 498; **Lucian**, *Demon.* 3; **Marinus**, *Proc.* 6; **Philostratus**, *Vit. Ap.* 1.4; *Vit. soph.* 489, 511, 528, 530, 570, 576, 577, 581, 585, 593, 606, 615, 620, 627; **Plutarch**, *Num.* 3.4; **Ps.-Herodotus**, *Vita Homeri*, 2; **Soranus**, *Vit. Hip.* 1.

Ancestry/Parents

Certamen, 3-4; *Vita Aeschlyli*, 1; *Vita Aristophanes*, 1; *Vita Euripide*, 1-2, 113; *Vita Pindari*, 1; *Vita Sophoclis*, 1; **Athanasius**, *Vit. Ant.* 1; **Diogenes**, 1.22, 68, 74, 82, 89, 94, 101, 106, 109, 116; 2.1, 3, 6, 16, 18, 48, 60, 65, 105, 125; 3.1; 4.1, 6, 16, 21, 28, 46, 62; 5.1, 36, 58, 65, 75, 86; 6.1, 20, 85, 94; 7.1, 167, 168, 179; 8.1, 51-53, 78, 79, 86; 9.1, 18, 21, 24, 25, 34, 50, 57, 61; 10.1; **Eunapius**, *Vit. phil.* 455, 457, 461, 463, 467, 473, 475, 495, 499, 500; **Iamblichus**, *Pyth.* 5; **Isocrates**, *Evag.* 12-21; **Josephus**, *Ant.* 1.148, 247, 288-90; 2.9, 210, 229; 4.14; 26; 5.213, 257, 276; 6.45; 10.59, 155; 11.185; *Vita* 1-6; **Marinus**, *Proc.* 6; **Philo**, *Mos.*, 1.7; **Philostratus**, *Vit. Ap.* 1.4, 6; *Vit. soph.* 494, 515, 521, 528, 545, 568, 570, 576, 594, 596, 597, 605, 611, 613, 620; **Plutarch**, *Alex.* 2.1; *Gal.* 3.1-2; *Lyc.* 2; *Num.* 3.4; *Pub.* 1.1; *Rom.* 4; *Thes.* 3, 7.1; **Ps.-Herodotus**, *Vita Homeri*, 1; **Porphyry**, *Vit. Pyth.* 1-2; **Soranus**, *Vit. Hip.* 1;

Suetonius, *Aug.* 2-4; *Cal.* 1-7; *Claud.* 1; *Galb.* 2-3; *Nero* 1-5; *Otho* 1; *Tib.* 1-4; *Vesp.* 1; *Vit.* 1-3; **Tacitus**, *Agr.* 4; **Xenophon**, *Ages.* 1.2-5; *Cyr.* 1.2.1.

Education: Teacher(s)/Pupils/School

Vita Pindari, 3; **Athanasius**, *Vit. Ant.* 3-4; **Diogenes**, 1.27, 116, 2.3, 6, 16, 19, 45, 65, 85-86, 108-110, 113, 125; 3.4, 46; 4.6, 21, 29, 51, 66; 5.1, 35, 37, 65, 75, 86; 6.1, 19, 21, 82, 84, 85, 94, 95, 102; 7.2, 36-38, 167, 177; 8.2, 78, 86; 9.18, 21, 24, 25, 30, 34, 57, 58, 69, 115-16; 10.22; **Eunapius**, *Vit. phil.* 455, 456, 457, 461, 465, 473, 482, 483, 497, 498, 499, 500, 503, 505; **Lucian**, *Alex.* 5; *Demon.* 3; **Marinus**, *Proc.* 6; **Philo**, *Moses*, 1.23; **Philostratus**, *Vit. Ap.* 1.7; *Vit. soph.* 485, 492, 494, 506, 509, 516, 522, 528, 539, 564, 567, 568, 576, 578, 581, 585, 591, 592, 594, 595, 597, 598, 600, 602, 604, 607, 608, 615, 620, 625, 627; **Plutarch**, *Cat. Min.* 2; **Ps.-Herodotus**, *Vita Homeri*, 3, 5; **Porphyry**, *Vit. Pyth.* 18-20; **Soranus**, *Vit. Hip.* 2, 4; **Suetonius**, *Galb.* 5; *Tit.* 3; **Tacitus**, *Agr.* 4-5; **Xenophon**, *Cyr.* 1.2.3-1.5.1.

Appearance

Vita Euripide, 27-28, 65; **Diogenes**, 2.22, 48; 4.3; 5.1, 67, 86; 6.97, 102; 7.1, 160; 8.11; 9.3; **Eunapius**, *Vit. phil.* 460, 73, 481, 485, 486-87, 492, 504; **Josephus**, *Ant.* 2.9, 41, 224; 6.45, 164; 7.160, 182; **Lucian**, *Alex.* 3; *Cynic*, 1; *Nigr.* 26; **Philo**, *Mos.* 1.9; *Ios.* 269; **Philostratus**, *Vit. soph.* 513, 529, 530, 552, 570, 581, 595, 599, 618; **Tacitus**, *Agricola*, 44; **Plato**, *Resp.* 7.535A; **Plutarch**, *Gal.* 13.6; *Rom.* 6.2; **Porphyry**, *Vit. Pyth.* 18; **Soranus**, *Vit. Hip.* 12; **Suetonius**, *Aug.* 79-80; *Cal.* 50; *Claud.* 30; *Dom.* 18; *Galb.* 20-21; *Jul.* 45; *Nero* 51; *Otho* 12; *Tib.* 68; *Vesp.* 20; *Vit.* 17; **Tacitus**, *Agr.* 44.

Childhood Events

Vita Pindari 2; *Vita Sophoclis*, 3; **Athanasius**, *Vit. Ant.* 1; **Diogenes**, 3.26; 9.5; 10.2; **Iamblichus**, *Pythagoras*, 11; **Isocrates**, *Evagoras*, 22; **Lucian**, *Alex.* 5; **Nepos**, *Att.* 1.2-4; **Marinus**, *Proc.* 8-12; **Philo**, *Ios.* 2-4; *Mos.* 1.20-21; **Philostratus**, *Vit. Ap.* 1.7-13; **Plutarch**, *Alex.* 5.1; *Cic.* 2.2; *Dion.* 4.2; *Rom.* 8; *Sol.* 2; *Them.* 2.1; *Thes.* 5-6; **Ps.-Callisthenes**, *Alex. Rom.*; **Ps.-Herodotus**, *Vita Homeri*, 5; **Porphyry**, *Vit. Plot.* 3; **Quintus Curtius**, *Alex.* 1; **Suetonius**, *Claud.* 3-9; *Galb.* 4-5; *Nero* 8-25, 52; *Tib.* 6-7, 57; *Tit.* 2; 1 Enoch 106.11; *Jub.* 11-12.

Career/Deeds

Athanasius, *Vit. Ant.* 56-64, 83-88; **Diogenes**, 1.45-46, 76; 2.2, 37; 6.84; **Isocrates**, *Evag.* 40-64; **Lucian**, *Alex.* 6-60; *Demon.* 12-62; **Marinus**, *Proc.* 14-17; **Nepos**, *Att.* 6-12; **Philostratus**, *Vit. Ap.* 8.38; **Ps.-Herodotus**, *Vita Homeri*, 5-35; **Soranus**, *Vit. Hip.* 5-10; **Suetonius**, *Aug.* 9-31; *Cal.* 22-44; *Claud.* 10-25; *Dom.* 1-9; *Galb.* 6-11; *Jul.* 1-39; *Nero* 8-25; *Otho* 3-9; *Tit.* 4-9; *Vesp.* 2-19; *Vit.* 4-12; **Tacitus**, *Agr.* 7, 18-28; **Xenophon**, *Ages.* 1.6-2.31; *Cyr.* 1.5.4.

Reference to Works

Certamen, 15; *Vita Aeschlyli*, 13; *Vita Aristophanes*, 63-64; *Vita Euripide*, 34-35, 132-34; *Vita Pindari*, 11; **Diogenes**, 1.43-44, 64-67, 111-12; 2.57, 84-85, 108, 120, 121, 122-23, 124, 125; 3.50; 4.4-5, 11-14; 5.22-27, 42-50, 59-60, 80-81, 86-88; 6.15-18, 80, 83, 100-101; 7.4, 36, 163, 166, 167, 174-75, 178, 189-202; 8.6, 85; 9.20, 46-49, 55; 10.24-25, 27-28; **Eunapius**, *Vit. phil.* 456, 460, 496, 502; **Iamblichus**, *Pyth.* 246; **Marinus**, *Proc.* 13; **Philostratus**, *Vit. Ap.* 4.46; 5.41; 6.29; *Vit. soph.* 491, 493, 496, 505, 510, 542; **Plutarch**, *Sol.* 14, 30.6; **Ps.-Herodotus**, *Vita Homeri*, 9, 24, 28; **Porphyry**, *Vit. Plot.* 4-6; *Vit. Pyth.* 57; **Soranus**, *Vit. Hip.* 13; **Suetonius**, *Aug.* 85; *Clad.* 41; *Jul.* 56; *Nero* 52-55.

Innovations

Vita Aeschlyli, 14; *Vita Aristophanes*, 5-6; *Vita Euripide*, 8-9; *Vita Sophoclis*, 4; **Diogenes**, 2.113; 4.27; 8.83.

Subject's Style

Vita Aeschlyli, 3; *Vita Euripide*, 125-32; *Vita Sophoclis*, 23; **Diogenes**, 2.63, 113; 4.19, 52; 5.65, 82, 89; 8.58; **Eunapius**, *Vit. phil.* 457, 458, 494, 496; **Philostratus**, *Vit. Ap.* 1.17; *Vit. soph.* 487, 489, 491, 492, 495, 496, 500, 502, 504, 509, 511, 514, 522, 527, 528, 542, 544, 563, 567, 568, 580, 586, 593, 594, 595, 601, 604, 606, 607, 612, 620, 621, 623, 624, 628; **Suetonius**, *Aug.* 86.

Character

Vita Sophoclis, 7; **Athanasius**, *Vit. Ant.* 53; **Diogenes**, 1.49; 2.7, 24, 48, 117, 127; 3.26; 4.1, 47, 59, 64; 5.37; 7.16, 168; 9.26, 38, 59; 10.8; **Eunapius**, *Vit. phil.* 461, 465, 471, 481, 503; **Lucian**, *Alex.* 4; *Demon.* 2, 10; **Marinus**, *Proc.* 18; **Nepos**, *Att.* 13; **Philostratus**, *Vit. Ap.* 1.13; *Vit. soph.* 487, 498, 510, 566, 578, 598; **Plutarch**, *Alex.* 1.1-3; *Cat. Min.* 24.1; *Rom.* 6.3; **Satyrus**, *Eurip.* fr. 8; **Suetonius**, *Cal.* 22; *Dom.* 10; *Galb.* 12-17; *Nero* 26-39; *Tit.* 7; *Vit.* 13-14; **Tacitus**, *Agr.* 29, 44-46; **Xenophon**, *Ages.* 11.1-13.

Piety

Vita Pindari, 5; *Vita Sophoclis*, 12; **Athanasius**, *Vit. Ant.* 3-4; **Eunapius**, *Vit. phil.* 476, 490, 502, 503, 504; **Josephus**, *Ag. Ap.* 2.291; *Ant.* 1.6; 9.12; cf. 5.232, 266; 7.198; **Marinus**, *Proc.* 19; **Philo**, *Abr.* 114, 192; **Plato**, *Prot.* 330B, 349B; **Plutarch**, *Them.* 24.4; **Suetonius**, *Tib.* 69; **Xenophon**, *Ages.* 3.1-5; *Cyr.* 1.5.6.

Family (Wife and Children)

Vita Aristophanes, 59-63; *Vita Euripide*, 28-32; *Vita Pindari*, 10; *Vita Sophoclis*, 13; **Diogenes**, 1.89, 94; 2.26, 72, 114, 138; 4.43; 5.4; 6.96; 8.2, 42-43, 88-89; **Eunapius**, *Vit. phil.* 457, 466, 469, 477, 479, 492-93, 494 (x3), 496, 499, 504; **Marinus**, *Proc.* 17; **Philo**, *Abr.* 110, 168; *Mos.* 1.59; **Philostratus**, *Vit. soph.* 555, 577, 593, 596, 598,

603, 605, 618, 623, 626; **Plutarch**, *Num.* 3.6-7, 21.1-3; *Thes.* 29; **Ps.-Herodotus**, *Vita Homeri*, 25; **Porphry**, *Vit. Pyth.* 2-4; **Soranus**, *Vit. Hip.* 15; **Suetonius**, *Aug.* 61-65; **Tacitus**, *Agr.* 6.

Death

Acts Paul 10; *Certamen*, 13-14; *Vita Aeschlyli*, 11; *Vita Euripide*, 49-62; *Vita Sophoclis*, 14; **Athanasius**, *Vit. Ant.* 89-93; **Diodorus Siculus**, 4.38; **Diogenes**, 1.39, 84, 93, 95, 108; 2.2, 3, 14, 42, 55-56, 120, 144; 3.40-41; 4.14, 20, 27, 44, 54, 61, 65; 5.40, 78, 91; 6.18, 76-79, 95, 98, 100; 7.28-31, 164, 176, 184-85; 8.39-40, 44-45, 52, 78, 84, 90; 9.3-5, 26-27, 43, 55, 59, 110-12; 10.15, 23, 25; **Dionysius Halicarnassus**, 1.64.4-5; **Eunapius**, *Vit. phil.* 457, 461, 462, 464, 470, 472-73, 478(?), 480, 482, 485, 493, 494 (x2), 496, 497, 499, 504, 505; **Hermippus**, *fr.* 3, 6, 11, 16 W, 20, 23, 25, 28 W, 34, 41 44, 47 52; **Isocrates**, *Evag.* 73 (omits death); **Jerome**, *Ill.* 2, 5 (of Stephen not Paul), 8, 9, 12, 15, 16, 54, 56, 62, 67, 69, 75, 77, 78, 80, 87, 91, 95, 96, 100, 102, 103, 104, 106, 111, 115, 116, 117, 121, 122; **Lucian**, *Alex.* 59; *Demon.* 65-67; *Per.* 27, 39; **Nepos**, 1.7, 2.10, 3.3, 4.5; *Att.* 22; **Marinus**, *Proc.* 36; **Pausanias**, 9.23.3; **Philo**, *Ios.* 268; *Mos.* 2.288-91; **Philodemus**, *P.Herc.* 1018, cols. 26-27; *P.Herc.* 1024, cols. 3, 34; **Philostratus**, *Vit. Ap.* 8.28-30; *Vit. soph.* 494?, 499, 502, 506, 526, 543, 544, 565, 568, 570, 576, 577, 578, 581, 585, 590, 592, 598, 599, 600, 602, 604, 606, 608, 612, 615, 620, 621, 623, 625; **Plutarch**, *Alex.* 75; *Caes.* 63-68; *Cat. Min.* 66-71; *Gal.* 26-27; *Lyc.* 29.4-5; *Num.* 21.4; *Oth.* 15-17; *Pub.* 23.2; *Rom.* 27-28; *Sol.* 32.3; *Thes.* 35; **Ps.-Herodotus**, *Vita Homeri*, 36; **Porphry**, *Vit. Plot.* 23; *Vit. Pyth.* 57; **Satyrus**, *Eurip.* *fr.* 39.xxi; **Soranus**, *Vit. Hip.* 11; **Suetonius**, *Aug.* 100; *Cal.* 58; *Claud.* 55; *Dom.* 17; *Galb.* 19-20; *Gram.* 5, 12, 20; *Jul.* 88; *Nero* 49; *Otho* 11; *Poet. Ter.* 5; *Poet. Vir.* 35; *Rhet.* 6; *Tib.* 73; *Tit.* 10-11; *Vesp.* 24; *Vit.* 18; **Tacitus**, *Agr.* 43-44; **Xenophon**, *Ages.* 11.14-16; *Apol.* 31-32; *Cyr.* 8.7.1-27.

Tomb and Epitaph

Ps.-Herodotus, *Vita Homeri*, 36; *Anon*, *Certamen*, 18; *Vita Pindari*, 8; *Vita Sophoclis*, 15-16; *Vita Euripide*, 38-45; **Diogenes**, 1.39, 85, 89-90, 96, 120; 2.43; 3.43; 5.78; 7.29; **Lucian**, *Demon.* 67; **Philostratus**, *Vit. Ap.* 8.31; *Vit. soph.* 526, 543, 597, 604, 612, 621; **Philo**, *Mos.* 2.291; **Plutarch**, *Num.* 22; *Lyc.* 31.4-5; *Oth.* 18.1; *Pub.* 23.3; *Thes.* 36.2; **Suetonius**, *Cal.* 59.

Will

Diogenes, 3.41-43; 4.43-44; 5.11-16, 51-57, 61-64, 69-74; 10.16-21; **Eunapius**, *Vit. phil.* 471; **Philostratus**, *Vit. soph.* 549; **Suetonius**, *Clad.* 44; *Jul.* 83; *Tib.* 76.

APPENDIX TWO: REFERENCES TO BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS IN
DIOGENES LAERTIUS' *LIVES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS*.

The list below consists of references to biographical works explicitly cited by Diogenes in his *Lives of the Philosophers*. In total there are 70 works listed. Although it could be argued that not all of these works should be considered biographies—it is difficult to tell as a majority are not extant—this list indicates that there were a number of biographies, both individual and collected, in the Hellenistic era. Furthermore, it also indicates that there was a substantial diversity and quantity of biographies that we can no longer access.

- Aenesidemus, *Phyyhonics*, 9.78, 1st bk. 9.106
 Alexander, *Succession of Philosophers*, 1.116; 2.19, 106; 3.4; 4.62; 7.179; 8.24, 36; 9.61
 Ambryon, *On Theocritus*, 5.11
 Anacilides, *On Philosophers*, 3.2
 Anon., *Life of Cleanthes*, 7.37
 Anticlides, *On Alexander*, 2nd bk. 8.11
 Antigonus of Carystus, *Biographies*, 4.17; 8.12; 9.62, 111
 Antiphon, *Men of Outstanding Character*, 8.3
 Antisthenes, *Heracles*, 6.104, 105
 Antisthenes, *Succession of Philosophers*, 2.38; 6.77, 87, 103; 7.168; 9.6, 15, 27, 35, 38, 39
 Apollodorus, *Chronology*, 7.184
 Apollodorus the Epicurean, *Life of Epicurus*, 10.2
 Ariston, *Life of Epicurus*, 10.14
 Ariston, *Of Zeno's Doctrines*, 7.163
 Ariston, *On Hericlitus*, 9.5
 Aristotle, *On the Pythagorians*, 8.34, see p. 350 (2)
 Aristoxenus, *Life of Plato*, 5.35
 Aristoxenus, *On Pythagorus and his School*, 1.118; 8.1, 8, 14, 79, 82
 Chysippus, *On the Ancient Natural Philosophers*, 7.189
 Clearchus, *Encomium on Plato*, 3.2
 Clitomachus, *On the Sects*, 2.92 (maybe not on philosophers)
 Demetrius, *On Men (or Poets and Writers) of the Same Name*, 5.3, 75, 89; 6.79, 84; 7.31, 169, 185; 8.84; 9.15, 27, 35
 Demetrius of Phalerum, *Defence of Socrates*, 9.15
 Democritus, *Pythagoras*, 9.38, 46
 Dicaearchus, *On Lives*, 3.4; 8.40
 Didymus, *Table Talk*, 5.76
 Diocles, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 2.54, 82; 6.12, 20, 36, 91, 99, 103; 9.61, 65
 Diocles the Magnesians, *Synopsis of Philosophers*, 7.48, 162, 176, 181; 9.11, 12 (Possibly the same work as above).
 Diodorus, *Memorabilia*, 4.2 1st bk.
 Diodorus of Ephesus, *Concerning Anaximander*, 8.70
 Diogenes Laertius, *Life of Socrates*, 2.22; 9.11
 Epicurus, *Antidorus*, 10.28 2 bks.

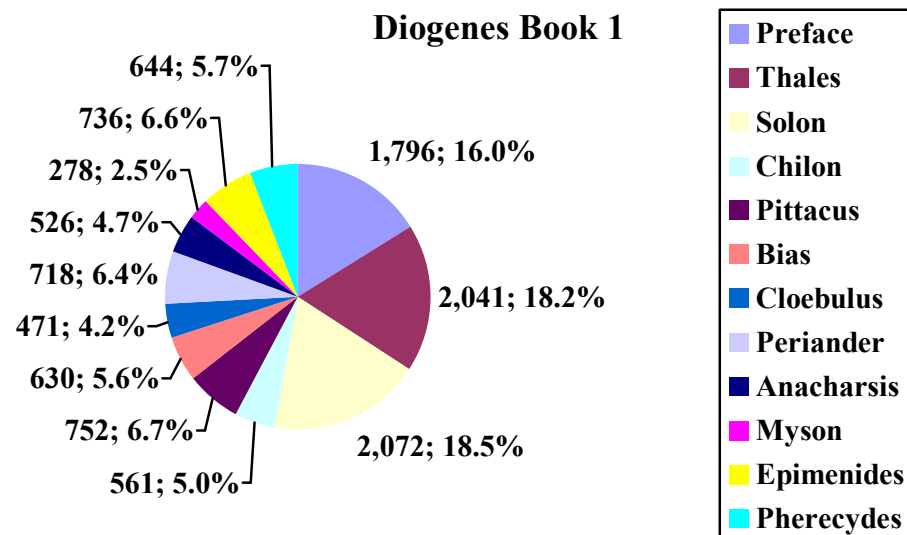
- Epicurus, *Metrosorus*, 10.28 5 bks.
 Epicurus, *Polymedes*, 10.28 1 bk.
 Epicurus, *Timocrates*, 10.28 3 bks.
 Eubulus, *The Sale of Diogenes*, 6.30
 Favorinus, *Memorabilia*, 3.20, 25 1st bk.; 3rd bk. 3.40; 2nd bk. 5.21, 76; 6.89; 8.12, 53, 73, 90; 9.20, 23 5th bk.,
 Hericlides, *Epitome of the Lives of Satyrus*, 8.40
 Hericlides of Callatis or Alexandria, *Succession of Philosophers*, 5.94 6 bks.
 Heraclides (Lembos), *Epitome of Sotion*, 8.7; 10.1 (F.H.G. iii. p.70; P.Oxy 1376)
 Hermippus, *Lives*, 5.2; 6.1, 99; 7.184; 8.1, 69; 9.28, 43; 10.2, 15
 Hermippus, *On Aristotle*, 5.1
 Hermippus, *On Pythagorus*, 2nd bk. 8.10, 40, 41, 51
 Hermippus, *On the Seven Sages*, 1.42; 8.88
 Herodotus, *On the Training of Epicurus as a Cadet*, 10.4
 Hesychius, *Life of Aristotle*, p. 464 (1) fn. C
 Magnesia, *Men of the Same Name*, 5.75
 Metrodorus, *On Epicurus' Weak Health*, 10.24
 Metrodorus, *Timocrates*, 10.23
 Pamphilia, *Memorabilia*, 3.23 25th bk; 5.36 32nd bk.
 Philodemus the Epicurean, *On Philosophers*, 10.3
 Plato, *Defence of Socrates*, 3.34
 Plato, *Parmenides*, 9.23, 25
 Plato, *Phaedrus*, 9.25
 Plato (?), *Pythagoras*, 9.50
 Plato, *Sophist*, 9.25
 Plato, *Theaetetus*, 9.51
 Plutarch, *Lives of Lysander and Sulla*, 4.4
 Satyrus, *Lives*, 6.80; 8.53, 58
 Sosicrates, *Succession of Philosophers*, 1.107; 3rd bk. 6.13, 80, 82; 7.163; 8.8
 Sotion, *Succession of the Philosophers*, 2.12, 75 (2nd book); 5.86; 6.26, 80, 183; 8.86; 9.5, 18, 20, 21, 110, 112, 115
 Speusippus, *On Philosophers*, 9.23
 Speusippus, *Plato's Funeral Feast*, 3.2
 Theodorus, *Against Epicurus*, 10.5
 Theophrastus, *Concerning Lives*, 5.42 (3 bks.)
 Timocrates, *Dion*, 7.2
 Timon, *Funeral Banquet of Arcesilaus*, 9.115
 Timotheus, *On Lives*, 3.5; 4.4; 5.1; 8.1
 Xenophon, *History of Philosophers*, 2.48
 Zeno, *Recollections of Crates*, 7.4

APPENDIX 3 – DIVISIONS IN COLLECTED BIOGRAPHIES

This appendix provides the word counts and percentages of character divisions in collected biographies. The divisions for each book are based on explicit character divisions indicated within the text, presumably by the author. Tallies are of words in the original language and have been personally counted. See the bibliography for text editions used.

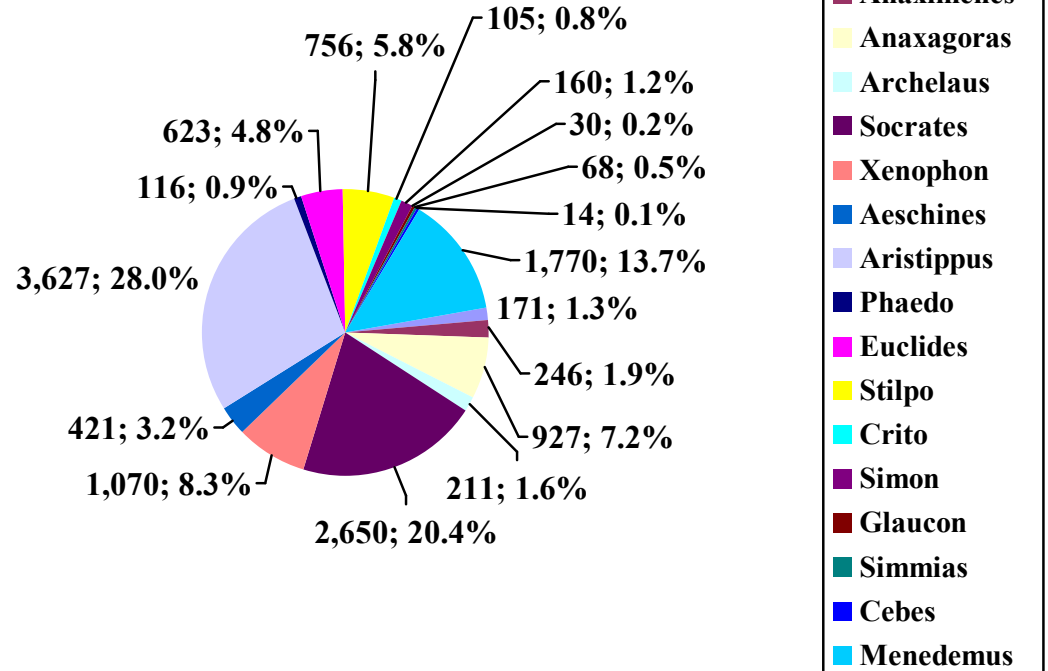
Diogenes Laertius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*

Please note that, as Books 3 and 10 are completely devoted to one character I have not included a pie chart for them.



Book 1: Preface: 1,796 (16.0%; 1.64%); Thales: 2,041 (18.2%); Solon: 2,072 (18.5%); Chilon: 561 (5%); Pittacus: 752 (6.7%); Bias: 630 (5.6%); Cleobulus: 471 (4.2%); Periander: 718 (6.4%); Anacharsis: 526 (4.7%); Myson: 278 (2.5%); Epimenides: 736 (6.6%); Pherecydes: 644 (5.7%); Total = 11,225 (10.2%)

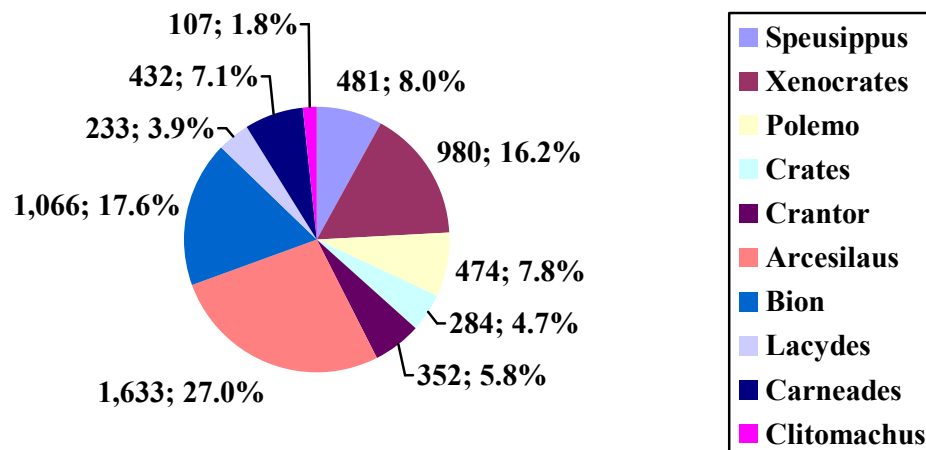
Diogenes Book 2



Book 2: Anaximander: 171 (1.3%); Anaximenes: 246 (1.9%); Anaxagoras: 927 (7.2%); Archelaus: 211 (1.6%); Socrates: 2,650 (20.4%); Xenophon: 1,070 (8.2%); Aeschines: 421 (3.2%); Aristippus: 3,627 (28%); Phaedo: 116 (0.9%); Euclides: 623 (4.8%); Stilpo: 756 (5.8%); Crito: 105 (0.8%); Simon: 160 (1.2%); Glaucon: 30 (0.2%); Simmias: 68 (0.5%); Cebes: 14 (0.1%); Menedemus: 1,770 (13.7%); Total = 12,965 (11.8%)

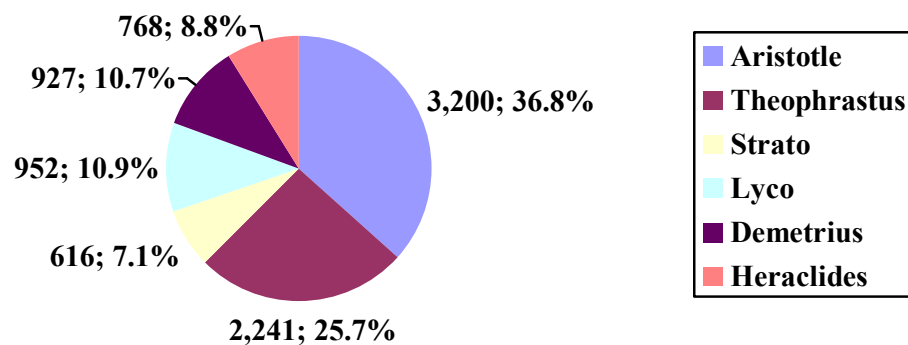
Book 3: Plato: 9,712 (8.8%)

Diogenes Book 4



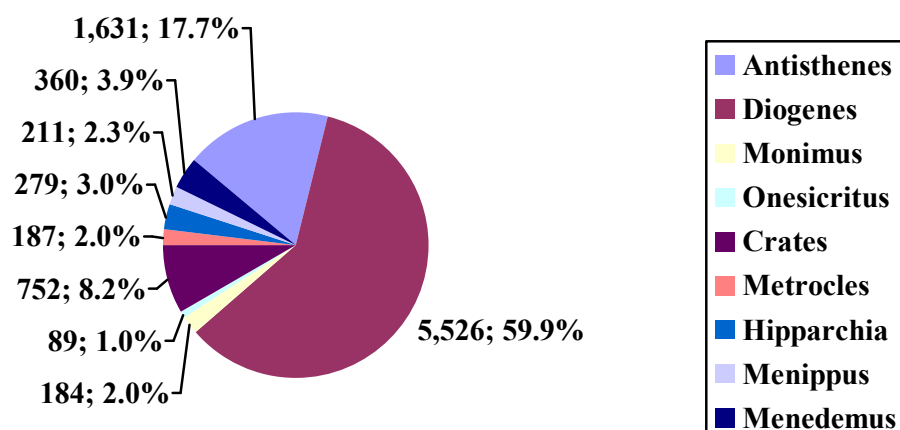
Book 4: Speusippus: 481 (8.0%); Xenocrates: 980 (16.2%); Polemo: 474 (7.8%); Crates: 284 (4.7%); Crantor: 352 (5.8%); Arcesilaus: 1,633 (27.0%); Bion: 1,066 (17.6%); Lacydes: 233 (3.9%); Carneades: 432 (7.1%); Clitomachus: 107 (1.8%); Total = 6,042 (5.5%)

Diogenes Book 5



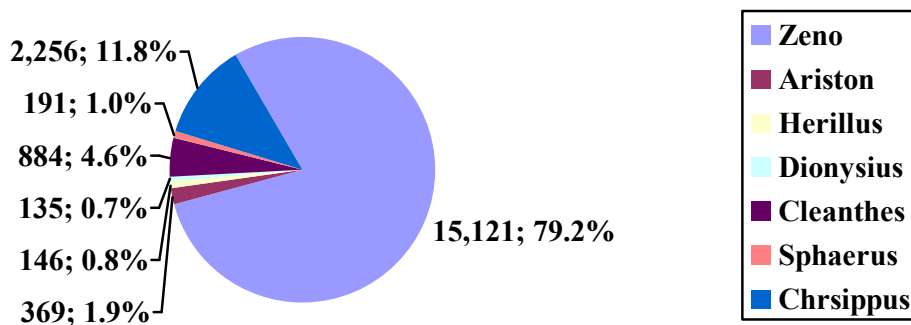
Book 5: Aristotle: 3,200 (36.8%); Theophrastus: 2,241 (25.7%); Strato: 616 (7.1%); Lyco: 952 (10.9%); Demetrius: 927 (10.7%); Heraclides: 768 (8.8%); Total = 8,704 (7.9%)

Diogenes Book 6



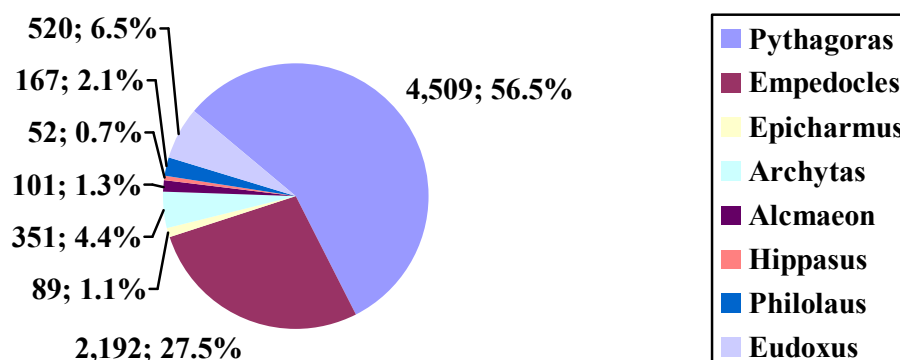
Book 6: Antisthenes: 1,631 (17.7%); Diogenes: 5,526 (59.9%); Monimus: 184 (2.0%); Onesicritus: 89 (1.0%); Crates: 752 (8.2%); Metrocles: 187 (2.0%); Hipparchia: 279 (3.0%); Menippus: 211 (2.3%); Menedemus: 360 (3.9%); Total = 9,219 (8.4%)

Diogenes Book 7



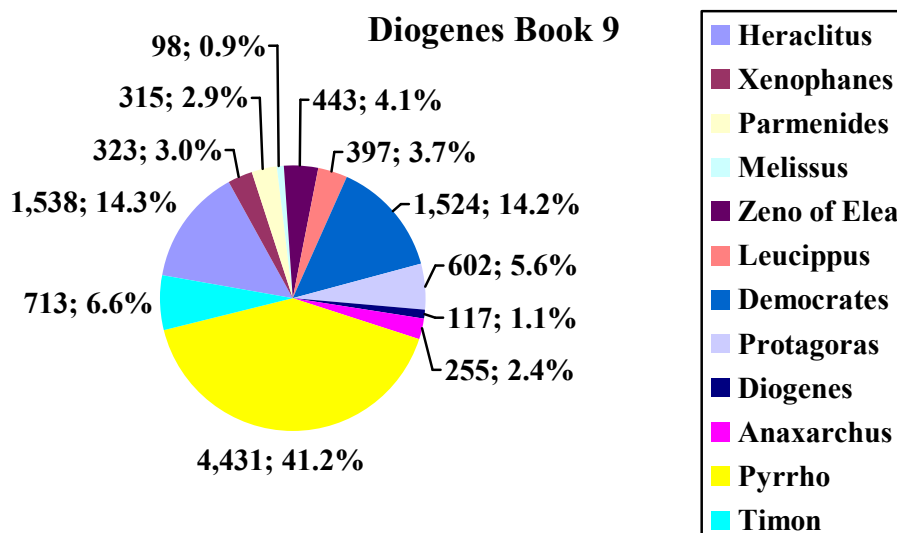
Book 7: Zeno: 15,121 (79.2%); Ariston: 369 (1.9%); Herillus: 146 (0.8%); Dionysius: 135 (0.7%); Cleanthes: 884 (4.6%); Sphaerus: 191 (1.0%); Chrysippus: 2,256 (11.8%); Total = 19,102 (17.4%)

Diogenes Book 8



Book 8: Pythagoras: 4,509 (56.5%); Empedocles: 2,192 (27.5%); Epicharmus: 89 (1.1%); Archytas: 351 (4.4%); Alcmaeon: 101 (1.3%); Hippasus: 52 (0.7%); Philolaus: 167 (2.1%); Eudoxus: 520 (6.5%); Total = 7,981 (7.3%)

Diogenes Book 9

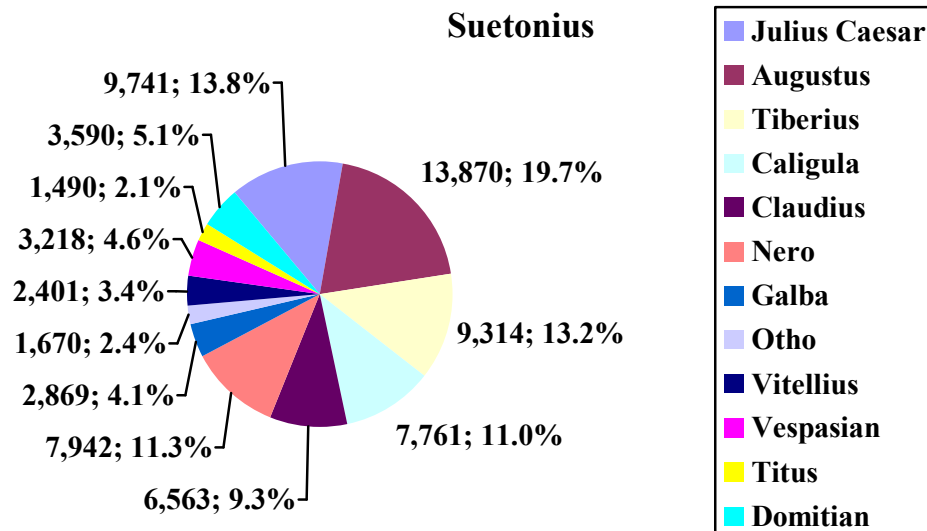


Book 9: Heraclitus: 1,538 (14.3%); Xenophanes: 323 (3.0%); Parmenides: 315 (3.0%); Melissus: 98 (0.9%); Zeno of Elea: 443 (4.1%); Leucippus: 397 (3.7%); Democrates: 1,524 (14.2%); Protagoras: 602 (5.6%); Diogenes of Apollonia: 117 (1.1%); Anaxarchus: 255 (2.4%); Pyrrho: 4,431 (41.2%); Timon: 713 (6.6%); Total = 10,756 (9.8%)

Book 10: Epictitus: 14,071 (12.8%)

Total = 109,777

Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* = 70,429 words



Julius Caesar, 9,741 (13.8%); Augustus, 13,870 (19.7%); Tiberius, 9,314 (13.2%); Caligula, 7,761 (11.0%); Claudius, 6,563 (9.3%); Nero, 7,942 (11.3%); Galba, 2,869 (4.1%); Otho, 1,670 (2.4%); Vitellius, 2,401 (3.4%); Vespasian 3,218 (4.6%); Titus, 1,490 (2.1%); Domitian, 3,590 (5.1%).

Nepos, *De Viris Illustribus*

| Subject | Words | Percentage |
|--------------|-------|------------|
| Preface | 255 | 1.0% |
| Miltiades | 1,359 | 5.6% |
| Themistocles | 1,718 | 7.1% |
| Aristides | 347 | 1.4% |
| Pausanias | 888 | 3.7% |
| Cimon | 526 | 2.2% |
| Lysander | 541 | 2.2% |
| Alcibiades | 2,018 | 8.3% |
| Thrasybulus | 607 | 2.5% |
| Conon | 740 | 3.0% |

| | | |
|----------------|-------|------|
| Dion | 1,481 | 6.1% |
| Iphiscrates | 404 | 1.7% |
| Chabrias | 489 | 2.0% |
| Timotheus | 657 | 2.7% |
| Datames | 1,814 | 7.5% |
| Epaminondas | 1,676 | 6.9% |
| Pelopidas | 708 | 2.9% |
| Agasilaus | 1,387 | 5.7% |
| Eumenes | 2,295 | 9.4% |
| Phocion | 540 | 2.2% |
| Tomoleon | 825 | 3.4% |
| On Kings | 443 | 1.8% |
| Hamilcar | 517 | 2.1% |
| Hannibal | 2,077 | 8.5% |
| Total = 24,312 | | |

Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*

Theseus – 7,972

Romulus – 9,727

Comparatio Thesei et Romuli – 1,206

Total = 18,905

Lycurgus – 9,749

Numa – 7,773

Comparatio Lycurgi et Numae – 1,642

Total = 19,164

Solon – 9,051

Publicola – 6,168

Comparatio Solonis et Publicolae – 999

Total = 16,218

Themistocles – 8,453

Camillas – 11,602

Total = 20,055

Aristides – 8,606

Cato the Elder – 8,493

Comparatio Aristidis et Catonis – 1,536

Total = 18,635

Cimon – 6,271

Lucullus – 14,069

Comparatio Cimonis et Luculli – 1,037

Total = 21,377

Pericles – 10,584

Fabius Maximus – 8,046

Comparatio Periclis et Fabii Maximi – 756

Total = 19,386

Nicias – 9,517

Crassus – 10,692

Comparatio Niciae et Crassi – 1,270

Total = 21, 479

Alcibiades – 10,624

Coriolanus – 9,765

Comparatio Alcibiadis et Coriolani – 1,129

Total = 21,518

Lysander – 8,425

Sulla – 11,958

Comparatio Lysandri et Sullae – 1,270

Total = 21,653

Agasilaus – 11,137

Pompey – 20,853

Comparatio Agasilai et Pompeii – 1,125

Total = 33,115

Pelopidas – 9,850
Marcellus – 8,830
Comparatio Pelopidae et Marcelli – 848
 Total = 19,528

Dion – 12,217
Brutus – 12,354
Comparatio Dionis et Bruti – 963
 Total = 25,534

Timoleon – 9,148
Aemilius Paulus – 10,177
Comparatio Aemilii Paulli et Timoleonis – 495
 Total = 19,820

Demosthenes – 7,370
Cicero – 12, 578
Comparatio Demosthenis et Ciceronis – 1,039
 Total = 20, 987

Alexander – 20,808
Julius Caesar – 16,522
 Total = 37,330

Sertorius – 6,878
Eumenes – 5,684
Comparatio Eumenis et Sertorii – 412
 Total = 12,974

Phocion – 8,422
Cato the Younger – 17,099
 Total = 25,521

Demetrius – 12,745
Antony – 19,144
Comparatio Demetrii et Antonii – 924
 Total = 32, 183

Pyrrhus – 11,321
Caius Marius – 13,323
 Total = 24, 644

Agis et Cleomenes – 13,975
Tiberius et Caius Gracchus – 9,550

Comparatio Agidis et Cleomenis cum Timerio et Gaio Graccho – 1,005
 Total = 24,530

Philopoemen – 5,997
Flamininus – 6,140
Comparatio Philopoemenis et Titi Flaminini – 576
 Total = 12,713

Aratus – 12,262
Artaxerxes – 7,653
Galba – 6,395
Otho – 4,295

 Total Words in *Parallel Lives*:
 507,184

Jerome – *De Viris Illustribus* – 11,439 words

Preface – 298 = 2.6%

I. Simon Petrus – 155 = 1.4%

II. Jacobus frater Domini – 451 = 3.9%

III. Matthaeus qui et Levi – 110 = 1.0%

IV. Juda frater Jacobi – 38 = 0.3%

V. Paulus qui [Al. et] ante Saulus – 483 = 4.2%

VI. Barnabas qui et Joseph. – 54 = 0.5%

VII. Lucas evangelista – 249 = 2.2%

VIII. Marcus evangelista – 156 = 1.4%

IX. Joannes apost. et evang – 315 = 2.8%

X. Hermas [ms. reliqua tacet], ut ferunt Pastor, auctor libri – 54 = 0.5%

XI. Philon Judaeus – 350 = 3.1%

XII. Lucius Anneus Seneca – 72 = 0.6%

XIII. Josephus Matthiae filius – 214 = 1.9%

XIV. Justus Tiberiensis – 36 = 0.2%

XV. Clemens episcopus – 138 = 1.2%

XVI. Ignatius episcopus – 305 = 2.7%

XVII. Polycarpus episcopus – 111 = 1.0%

XVIII. Papias episcopus – 163 = 1.4%

XIX. Quadratus episcopus – 93 = 0.8%

XX. Aristides philosophus – 38 = 0.3%

XXI. Agrippa qui et Castor [Ms. Castoris] – 72 = 0.6%

XXII. Hegesippus historicus – 124 = 1.1%

XXIII. Justinus philosophus – 172 = 1.5%

XXIV. Melito episcopus – 133 = 1.2%

XXV. Theophilus episcopus – 62 = 0.5%

XXVI. Apollinaris episcopus – 43 = 0.4%

XXVII. Dionysius episcopus – 83 = 0.7%

XXVIII. Pinitus [Al. Pinytus] episcopus – 50 = 0.4%

XXIX. Tatianus haeresiarches – 82 = 0.7%

XXX. Philippus episcopus – 33 = 0.3%

XXXI. Musanus – 27 = 0.2%

XXXII. Modestus – 32 = 0.3%

XXXIII. Bardesanes haeresiarches – 77 = 0.7%

XXXIV. Victor episcopus – 21 = 0.2%

XXXV. Irenaeus episcopus – 219 = 1.9%

XXXVI. Panthaenus philosophus – 90 = 0.8%

XXXVII. Rhodon, Tatiani discipulus – 80 = 0.7%

XXXVIII. Clemens presbyter – 214 = 1.9%

XXXIX. Miltiades – 36 = 0.3%

XL. Apollonius – 139 = 1.2%

XLI. Serapion episcopus – 91 = 0.8%

XLII. Apollonius alius senator – 53 = 0.5%

XLIII. Theophilus alius episcopus – 30 = 0.3%

- XLIV. Baccillus [Al. Bacchelus] episcopus – 22 = 0.2%
 XLV. Polycrates episcopus – 282 = 2.5%
 XLVI. Heraclitus episcopus – 9 = 0.1%
 XLVII. Maximus – 18 = 0.2%
 XLVIII. Candidus – 9 = 0.1%
 XLIX. Appion – 9 = 0.1%
 L. Sextus – 8 = 0.1%
 LI. Arabianus – 11 = 0.1%
 LII. Judas – 41 = 0.4%
 LIII. Tertullianus presbyter – 144 = 1.3%
 LIV. Origenes, qui et Adamantius, presbyter – 489 = 4.3%
 LV. Ammonius presbyter – 59 = 0.5%
 LVI. Ambrosius diaconus – 75 = 0.7%
 LVII. Tryphon Origenis discipulus – 43 = 0.4%
 LVIII. Minucius Felix – 49 = 0.4%
 LIX. Gaius – 58 = 0.5%
 LX. Berillus [Al. Beryllus] episcopus – 65 = 0.6%
 LXI. Hippolytus [Al. Hypolitus] episcopus – 165 = 1.4%
 LXII. Alexander episcopus – 165 = 1.4%
 LXIII. Julianus Africanus – 86 = 0.8%
 LXIV. Geminus presbyter – 29 = 0.3%
 LXV. Theodorus, qui et Gregorius, episcopus – 108 = 0.9%
 LXVI. Cornelius episcopus – 67 = 0.6%
 LXVII. Cyprianus episcopus – 66 = 0.6%
 LXVIII. Pontius diaconus – 19 = 0.2%
 LXIX. Dionysius episcopus – 354 = 3.1%
 LXX. Novatianus haeresiarches – 63 = 0.6%
 LXXI. Malchion presbyter – 57 = 0.5%
 LXXII. Archelaus episcopus – 32 = 0.3%
 LXXIII. Anatolius episcopus – 39 = 0.3%
 LXXIV. Victorinus episcopus – 53 = 0.5%
 LXXV. Pamphilus presbyter – 88 = 0.8%
 LXXVI. Pierius presbyter – 75 = 0.7%
 LXXVII. Lucianus presbyter – 41 = 0.4%
 LXXVIII. Phileas episcopus – 43 = 0.4%
 LXXIX. Arnobius rhetor – 17 = 0.1%
 LXXX. Firmianus rhetor – 127 = 1.1%
 LXXXI. Eusebius episcopus – 118 = 1.0%
 LXXXII. Reticius episcopus Eduorum – 33 = 0.3%
 LXXXIII. Methodius episcopus – 65 = 0.6%
 LXXXIV. Juvencus presbyter – 28 = 0.2%
 LXXXV. Eustathius episcopus – 47 = 0.4%
 LXXXVI. Marcellus episcopus – 64 = 0.6%
 LXXXVII. Athanasius episcopus – 75 = 0.7%
 LXXXVIII. Antonius monachus – 44 = 0.4%
 LXXXIX. Basilius episcopus – 26 = 0.2%
 XC. Theodorus episcopus – 26 = 0.2%
 XCI. Eusebius alius episcopus – 60 = 0.5%

- XCII. Triphilus episcopus – 32 = 0.3%
 XCIII. Donatus haeresiarches – 44 = 0.4%
 XCIV. Asterius philosophus – 27 = 0.2%
 XCV. Lucifer episcopus – 58 = 0.5%
 XCVI. Eusebius alius episcopus – 45 = 0.4%
 XCVII. Fortunatianus episcopus – 41 = 0.4%
 XCVIII. Acacius episcopus – 43 = 0.4%
 XCIX. Serapion episcopus – 37 = 0.3%
 C. Hilarius episcopus – 155 = 1.4%
 CI. Victorinus rhetor Petavionensis – 29 = 0.3%
 CII. Titus episcopus – 21 = 0.2%
 CIII. Damasus episcopus – 23 = 0.2%
 CIV. Apollinaris episcopus – 38 = 0.3%
 CV. Gregorius episcopus – 22 = 0.2%
 CVI. Pacianus episcopus – 33 = 0.3%
 CVII. Photinus haeresiarches – 33 = 0.3%
 CVIII. Foebadius episcopus – 22 = 0.2%
 CIX. Didymus ὁ Βλέπων – 109 = 1.0%
 CX. Optatus episcopus – 27 = 0.2%
 CXI. Acilius Severus, senator – 38 = 0.3%
 CXII. Cyrillus episcopus – 25 = 0.2%
 CXIII. Euzoius episcopus – 47 = 0.4%
 CXIV. Epiphanius episcopus – 33 = 0.3 %
 CXV. Ephrem diaconus – 49 = 0.4%
 CXVI. Basilus alter episcopus – 32 = 0.3%
 CXVII. Gregorius alius episcopus – 118 = 1.0%
 CXVIII. Lucius episcopus – 29 = 0.3%
 CXIX. Diodorus episcopus – 36 = 0.3%
 CXX. Eunomius haeresiarches – 40 = 0.3%
 CXXI. Priscillianus episcopus – 48 = 0.4%
 CXXII. Latronianus episcopus – 31 = 0.3%
 CXXIII. Tiberianus episcopus – 45 = 0.4%
 CXXIV. Ambrosius episcopus Mediolan – 26 = 0.2%
 CXXV. Evagrius episcopus – 30 = 0.3%
 CXXVI. Ambrosius Didymi discipulus – 28 = 0.2%
 CXXVII. Maximus ex philosopho episcopus – 22 = 0.2%
 CXXVIII. Gregorius alius episcopus – 25 = 0.2%
 CXXIX. Joannes presbyter – 17 = 0.1%
 CXXX. Gelasius episcopus – 14 = 0.1%
 CXXXI. Theotimus episcopus – 19 = 0.2%
 CXXXII. Dexter Paciani filius, nunc praefectus praetorio – 23 = 0.2%
 CXXXIII. Amphilochius episcopus – 19 = 0.2%
 CXXXIV. Sophronius – 43 = 0.4%
 CXXXV. Hieronymus – 246 = 2.2%

Eunapius – *Vitae Philosophorum* – Total 21,429

| Subject | Words | Percentage |
|----------------------|-------|------------|
| Preface | 917 | 4.3% |
| Plotinus | 117 | 0.5% |
| Porphyry | 815 | 3.8% |
| Iamblichus | 944 | 4.4% |
| Alypius | 489 | 2.3% |
| Aedesius | 605 | 2.8% |
| Sopater | 522 | 2.4% |
| Ablabius | 554 | 2.6% |
| Eustathius | 617 | 2.9% |
| Sosipatra | 2,653 | 12.4% |
| Maximus | 3,364 | 15.7% |
| Priscus | 526 | 2.5% |
| Julian of Cappadocia | 964 | 4.5% |
| Prohaeresius | 3,626 | 16.9% |
| Epiphanius | 90 | 0.4% |
| Diophantus | 117 | 0.5% |
| Sopolis | 71 | 0.3% |
| Himerius | 87 | 0.4% |
| Parnasius | 20 | 0.1% |
| Libanius | 780 | 3.6% |
| Acacius | 177 | 0.8% |
| Nymphidianus | 89 | 0.4% |
| Zeno of Cyprus | 68 | 0.3% |
| Magnus | 149 | 0.7% |
| Oribasius | 428 | 2.0% |
| Ionicus | 208 | 1.0% |
| Theon | 21 | 0.1% |
| Chrysanthius | 2,411 | 11.3% |

Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum*, Book 1

| Subject | Words | Percentage |
|--------------------------|-------|------------|
| Preface | 836 | 6.7% |
| Eudoxus of Cnidus | 53 | 0.4% |
| Leon of Byzantium | 195 | 1.6% |
| Dias of Ephesus | 52 | 0.4% |
| Carneades of Athens | 25 | 0.2% |
| Philostratus (Egyptian) | 50 | 0.4% |
| Theomnestus of Naucratis | 16 | 0.1% |
| Dio of Prusa | 434 | 3.5% |
| Favorinus | 664 | 5.3% |

| | | |
|---------------------------|-------|-------|
| Gorgias of Leontini | 345 | 2.8% |
| Pythagoras of Abdera | 195 | 1.6% |
| Hippias of Elis | 171 | 1.4% |
| Prodicus of Ceos | 98 | 0.8% |
| Polus of Agrigentum | 66 | 0.5% |
| Thrasymachus of Chalcedon | 34 | 0.3% |
| Antiphon of Rhamnus | 554 | 4.4% |
| Critias the Sophist | 450 | 3.6% |
| Isocrates the Sophist | 446 | 3.6% |
| Aeschines | 628 | 5.0% |
| Nicetes of Smyrna | 425 | 3.4% |
| Isaeus the Assyrian | 355 | 2.8% |
| Scopelian the Sophist | 1,785 | 14.3% |
| Dionysius of Miletus | 819 | 6.6% |
| Lollianus of Ephesus | 293 | 2.3% |
| Marcus of Byzantium | 495 | 4.0% |
| Polemo | 2,881 | 23.0% |
| Secundus the Athenian | 137 | 1.1% |

Book 1 = 12,502

Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum*, Book 2

| Subject | Words | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-------|------------|
| Herodes | 4,231 | 25.5% |
| Thedotus | 171 | 1.0% |
| Aristocles of Pergamum | 190 | 1.1% |
| Antiochus | 408 | 2.5% |
| Alexander "Clay-Plato" | 1,289 | 7.8% |
| Varus | 130 | 0.8% |
| Hermogenes | 147 | 0.9% |
| Philagrus of Cilicia | 664 | 4.0% |
| Aristeides | 775 | 4.7% |
| Hadrian the Phoenician | 1,141 | 6.9% |
| Chrestus of Byzantium | 262 | 1.6% |
| Pollux of Naucratis | 351 | 2.1% |
| Pausanias | 142 | 0.9% |
| Athenodorus | 99 | 0.6% |
| Ptolemy of Naucratis | 273 | 1.6% |
| Euodius of Smyrna | 150 | 0.9% |
| Rufus of Perinthus | 214 | 1.3% |
| Onomarchus of Andros | 195 | 1.2% |
| Apollonius of Naucratis | 179 | 1.1% |
| Apollonius of Athens | 344 | 2.1% |
| Proclus of Naucratis | 426 | 2.6% |
| Phoenix the Thessalian | 87 | 0.5% |
| Damianus of Ephesus | 416 | 2.6% |
| Antipater | 265 | 1.6% |

| | | |
|----------------------------|-------|------|
| Hermocrates of Phocaea | 667 | 4.0% |
| Heracleides the Lycian | 577 | 3.5% |
| Hippodromus the Thessalian | 1,115 | 6.7% |
| Varus of Laodicea | 57 | 0.3% |
| Quirinus of Nicomedia | 246 | 1.5% |
| Philiscus the Thessalian | 391 | 2.4% |
| Aelian the Roman | 237 | 1.4% |
| Heliodorus | 337 | 2.0% |
| Aspasius of Ravenna | 407 | 2.5% |

Book 2 = 16,583

APPENDIX FOUR: PLUTARCH AND PHILO

In this appendix we seek to provide a synchronic perspective through an evaluation of two of Luke's near contemporaries: Plutarch and Philo. The function of this chapter is not to draw direct, formal parallels between the works of these authors and Luke-Acts (this is found in chapter five). Rather, this appendix seeks to show that authors in the first century AD were willing to adapt the collected biography genre and that collected biographies in the first century AD were particularly open to adaptation.

It is prudent to express again that our knowledge of biography in the ancient world is still quite fragmentary and that it is possible that there are a number of other models and modes of biography that we have no knowledge about.¹ Similarly, as we do not have a full picture it is unknown what works may have influenced Luke's compilation. This, however, is not the present chapter's focus. Rather, this chapter emphasises the malleable nature of biography in the first century AD, and the willingness of authors to adapt its generic components to meet their literary needs.

Of specific interest are Plutarch and Philo, Luke's near contemporaries, and their use of biography. Both exhibit a willingness to adapt the biography genre and incorporate features of other prose literature (history, rhetoric, philosophy). Similarly, the biographies attributed to these two authors are distinctive and tailored to their communicative needs. Ultimately, the varieties of biography created by these two authors facilitate our understanding of Luke-Acts as a collected biography.

Plutarch

Plutarch was one of the most compelling ethical writers of the first/second centuries and is best known for his biographic works.² Born ca. AD 45 at Chaeronea to a

¹ The example of Satyrus' biography *Life of Euripides* (P.Oxy IX 1176) and its discovery in 1912 should be a constant reminder.

² The importance of Plutarch's *Lives* in comparison to his other works is indicated by their prominence in the Lamprias Catalogue, nos. 1-25. For an edition and translation of the "Catalogue of Lamprias," see F.H. Sandbach, *Plutarch's Moralia*, vol. XV (Loeb; London: Heinemann, 1969), 3-29. The *Suda* II 1793, although shy on biographical details, amusingly states that Plutarch "wrote a lot" (ἔγραψε δὲ πολλά).

modestly wealthy family, Plutarch received a thorough literary training.³ Although it is not certain, and not personally attested by Plutarch, a number of scholars have suggested that he received tertiary education as a rhetor, most likely in Smyrna.⁴ Plutarch's writing style does show strong rhetorical influence, as will be discussed below, though some have disagreed that he received formal rhetorical training due to the lack of explicit evidence.

There are a number of references within Plutarch's works that negatively portray rhetoricians as manipulators of empty words and as inferior to philosophers.⁵ These references, however, do not necessarily indicate that he did not have rhetorical training. Rather, it is possible that his training could have occurred before his conversion to philosophy. This philosophical training, under the tutelage of the Egyptian Ammonius, is referenced by Plutarch⁶ and took place in Athens some time late in Nero's reign.⁷

It is primarily Plutarch as a philosopher with an emphasis on ethical instruction who comes across in his *Moralia* and his *Lives*. This, however, should not distract the reader from noticing Plutarch's literary and rhetorical sophistication in his attempt to educate. It is this blending of rhetoric, literature, and philosophy that makes the *Parallel Lives* such a unique literary creation. However, before dealing with this set of lives it is important to discuss Plutarch's other, less-known collected biography, his *Lives of the Caesars*.

1. *Lives of the Caesars*

Originally a series running from Augustus to Vitellius, Plutarch's *Lives of the Caesars* is reported to have consisted of eight lives.⁸ Although the date of this series cannot be established with any certainty, the exclusion of the Flavian house suggests

³ Unfortunately not much of Plutarch's life is known, as his writings only contain occasional side comments. Eunapius, *Vit. Phil.* 454.

⁴ Most notably, see Jones, *Plutarch and Rome*, 14.

⁵ Plutarch, *Rect. rat. aud.* 7 (41D); *Virt. prof.* 8 (80A); *Alex. fort.* 4 (328B); *Gen. Socr.* 9 (580B).

⁶ *Adul. amic.* 31 (70E).

⁷ Plutarch, in *E Delph.* 1 (385B), states that he accompanied Ammonius to Delphi when Nero visited Greece.

⁸ Lamprias Catalogue, 26-27, 29-33.

a date of composition before Domitian's death in AD 96.⁹ This dating, while not exact, clearly makes this series one of the earlier compositions in Plutarch's career. One of the challenges of evaluating Plutarch's *Lives of the Caesars* is that only the lives of Galba and Otho are extant. Nevertheless, this set of lives is important for understanding Plutarch's later writings and so demands consideration.

Upon reading *Galba* and *Otho* it appears that the *Lives of the Caesars* was constructed as a continuous narrative.¹⁰ For example, although Galba is the title character there is minimal discussion of his birth and other biographical standards.¹¹ On the other hand, Otho is briefly introduced in a way that parallels a character's introduction in an individual biography.¹² Similarly, *Otho* does not begin with an introduction to Otho,¹³ but continues the narrative at the exact point that it left off in *Galba*.¹⁴ This format of serial biographies is akin to other serial biographies, most notably Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*,¹⁵ although in the works of Suetonius and other writers there is substantially less literary narrative overlap.

In addition to these biographical sections, Plutarch differentiates this type of work from history. In *Galba* 2.5, Plutarch states, "Now to give an accurate, detailed account of events is the task of the historian proper; but it would not be right for me either to pass over in silence the most notable deeds and sufferings of the Caesars." Like the well-known parallel statement in *Alex.* 1.1-2, Plutarch is providing parameters for interpreting his work and highlights the importance of deeds and suffering for the reader's understanding of character.¹⁶

⁹ Jones, *Plutarch and Rome*, 72; D. Little and C. Ehrhardt, *Plutarch: Lives of Galba and Otho* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1994), 3.

¹⁰ Duff (*Plutarch's Lives*, 20) suggests that the *Lives of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius*, formed a discrete unit.

¹¹ Galba's wealth, kin, and character are mentioned in *Galb.* 3.1-4. This moralising introduction is similar to those in the *Parallel Lives*: *Arat.* 1.1-4; *Ag. Cleom.* 1.1-2.6; *Demetr.* 1.1-6; *Sert.* 1.1-7; *Phoc.* 1-2; *Dem.* 1-2; *Alex.* 1; *Dion* 1; *Aem.* 1; *Pel.* 1.1-2. 8; *Per.* 1.1-2.4; *Nic.* 1; *Cim.* 2.2-5; *Thes.* 1.

¹² Plutarch, *Galb.* 19.2.

¹³ In fact Plutarch (*Oth.* 1.1) does not even mention his name, but refers to him as the "new emperor" (νεώτερος αὐτοκράτωρ). Furthermore, Plutarch, in *Otho* 18.1, alludes to the upcoming recounting of the soldiers' hatred of Vitellius.

¹⁴ In contrast, *Galba* opens with moralistic maxims regarding money and mercenaries (1.1-7), summarises the year of the four emperors (1.8), and recalls the end of Nero (1.9).

¹⁵ Though structurally similar, it is unlikely that Suetonius was dependant on or modeled his work after Plutarch as there are substantial differences in purpose and use of minute facts. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome*, 73. Other biographies of the Caesars include: Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.1-2.49 and Dio Cassius 64.1-15. For the dating of these works, see R. Syme, "Biographers of the Caesars," *MH* 37 (1980): 104-28, esp. 104-11.

¹⁶ A. Georgiadou, "The *Lives of the Caesars* and Plutarch's Other *Lives*," *ICS* 13 (1998): 349-56, 351.

With this in mind, it is important to highlight the notable differences between these two lives. While *Galba* is more concerned with ethical and moral considerations,¹⁷ *Otho* has a richer narration of military events.¹⁸ These concerns are not exclusive to either work, but they do represent the key aspects of each life. As a result of this, Georgiadou's claim that the statement in *Galba* 2.5 is directed primarily at *Otho*, not *Galba*, is plausible,¹⁹ though his further claim that it is a programmatic statement for the whole of the *Lives of the Caesars* goes too far and fails to account for the (likely) sizable role that the opening *Lives* would have had on the interpretation of the work overall.

Looking at the structure of the *Lives of the Caesars*, Plutarch incorporates an internal *synkrisis* at the end of each life, which foreshadows the formal *synkrisis* seen in his later *Parallel Lives*. So, in *Galba* 29.4 Galba's fate is compared with Nero's, and in *Otho* 18.2 Otho's life and conduct are compared with Nero's.²⁰ These two comparisons are not entirely unexpected, as both Galba and Otho are compared with Nero in the preceding narrative. In *Galba* 16.1-4 Galba's policy is juxtaposed to Nero's in a lengthy passage, and in *Galba* 19.1-5 Otho's rash lavishness in his private life is likened to Nero's similar habits.²¹

Although the occurrence of a *synkrisis* in the *Lives of the Caesars* is similar to those in the *Parallel Lives*, there are some notable differences, most notably *Galba* and *Otho*'s strong interdependency. These works are interlocked in such a marked way that it is in fact impossible to understand the *Life of Otho* without constantly referring to the *Life of Galba*.²² A similar feature of interdependency between *Lives* can be traced in the *Lives of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus*, which form a unified double-Life. All the initial information about Gaius is given in *Tiberius* 1.8-3.3 and, when Plutarch starts the *Life of Gaius*, he picks up the thread of events from where

¹⁷ However, see *Otho* 2.1-2.

¹⁸ Georgiadou, "*Lives of the Caesars*," 353. I agree with Ash (*contra* Georgiadou) that both *Galba* and *Otho* display uneven levels of characterisation. R. Ash, "Severed Heads: Individual Portraits and Irrational Forces in Plutarch's *Galba* and *Otho*," in J. Mossman (ed.), *Plutarch and his Intellectual World: Essays on Plutarch* (London: Classical Press of Wales, 1997), 189-214, 204-205 n.1.

¹⁹ Georgiadou, "*Lives of the Caesars*," 353.

²⁰ See also the comparison between Otho and Vitellius (*Otho* 4.34-36), as well as the comparison of three pairs of public persons: Sulla/Marius, Caesar/Pompey and Vitellius/Otho (*Otho* 9.5).

²¹ Georgiadou, "*Lives of the Caesars*," 353.

²² The weak ending of *Otho* and the introduction of Vitellius suggest that the *Life of Vitellius* would be dependant on *Otho*, as *Otho* depends on *Galba*.

he left it in the *Life of Tiberius*. Nevertheless, this tight melding of lives is not the standard for Plutarch and thus should not be overly emphasised.

It is fair to posit that Plutarch's principle of organisation for his *Lives of the Caesars* is an intertwined series of lives. Although structurally similar to previous collected biographies (see the previous chapter), the *Lives of the Caesars* is differentiated by its intertwined narratives and its incorporation of *synkriseis* throughout the narrative.²³ Similarly, some of the classic components of a biography (such as birth, education, etc.) are noticeably absent and there is a strict limitation of material to the events of AD 68-69.²⁴ Although not expounded in the same manner, the first two distinctive features (intertwined lives and *synkriseis*) are further developed and emphasised in his *Parallel Lives*, while the lack of biographical details is rectified. This combination is so distinctive that Plutarch has been credited with revolutionising ancient biography.

2. *Parallel Lives*

In the above section we saw how Plutarch's early biographies incorporated similar distinctive characteristics such as found in other serial collected biographies.²⁵ In the *Parallel Lives* these features are developed into a unique expression of the biography genre, one that is rooted in traditional biographical works yet forms a new structure by which to understand the material.²⁶ Furthermore, Plutarch's formal demarcation of *synkrisis* at the conclusion of his biographical pairing is unique and draws on his rhetorical training. As a result, Plutarch's *Lives* represents an innovative adaptation of the biography genre. It is this innovation that we now evaluate.

²³ For an interesting discussion on Plutarch's focus on named, minor characters and how their deaths reflect the thrust of the narrative, see Ash, "Severed Heads," 194-96.

²⁴ Ash, "Severed Heads," 190; Georgiadou, "*Lives of the Caesars*," 355. Ash claims that this emphasis and chronological restriction is novel for a *Life*.

²⁵ In addition to the *Lives of the Caesars* and *Parallel Lives*, other collected biographies have also been attributed to Plutarch: *On Famous Men* (Lamprias Catalogue 168); *On the First Philosophers and their Successors* (Lamprias Catalogue 184); *On the Cyrenaic Philosophers* (Lamprias Catalogue 188). Unfortunately these works are not extant, nor is their authenticity known.

²⁶ R.G. Andria, "La biografia al secondo grado: opere biografiche nelle Vite Parallele di Plutarco" in I. Gallo (ed.), *La Biblioteca di Plutarco: Atti del IX Convegno Plutarco, Pavia, 13-15 giugno 2002* (Napoli, 2004), 379-390.

Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* are structured by a comparison of Greek and Roman characters.²⁷ Although the idea of drawing comparisons between Roman and Greek (or other non-Roman) achievements was not new,²⁸ the way that Plutarch structures his *Lives* around this comparison is original. This pairing has been recently re-emphasised by Duff (after being neglected by scholars) who rightfully insists that "each pair of the *Parallel Lives* must be read as a complete book, not as individual biographies: no one life can be understood without its partner, and without the other components (prologue and comparison) which go to make up the whole Plutarchian 'book'."²⁹

It is not clear whether Plutarch's formal, structural pairing of lives to form a single biographical work was an original invention; there is, however, no extant evidence of paired lives before Plutarch's work. Regardless of possible predecessors, Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* radically reshaped the field of ancient biography writing.³⁰

In each of his paired compositions Plutarch traces a common theme which is exploited throughout the lives of the two protagonists, who are separated in time, place and culture.³¹ This theme, which is often of philosophical significance, is modeled by the lead characters whose actions are evaluated for their praiseworthy or blameworthy qualities.³² This evaluation of the characters' moral judgements, though foundational for the structure of the work, is often implicit, with Plutarch expecting his readers to be able to discern whether or not an action is to be commended and imitated or condemned and avoided.

Furthermore, there is a strong relationship between the selection of protagonists and the moral theme expanded upon: each character is either a positive or negative model of a particular virtue or vice. The issue, however, is that Plutarch does not

²⁷ The Greek character is presented first in all but three pairings: *Aem.-Tim.*, *Sert.-Eum.*, and *Cor.-Alc.*

²⁸ Russell, *Plutarch*, 109.

²⁹ Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 10, following the programme of P.A. Stadter, "Plutarch's Comparison of Pericles and Fabius Maximus," *GRBS* 16 (1976): 77-85. Pelling had previously noted that Plutarch's pairing encourages contrast and comparison. C.B.R. Pelling, "Synkrisis in Plutarch's Lives," in *Plutarch and History: Eighteen Studies* (London: Classical Press of Wales, 2002), 349-63.

³⁰ Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 102. Plutarch's pairing of lives was followed by a number of authors, e.g., Amyntianus' *Parallel Lives* of Philip-Augustus and Dionysius-Domitian; Photius. *Bibliotheca*, 131 (PG 103:416A).

³¹ In *Virtues of Women* 234B-D, Plutarch articulates the importance of placing lives and deeds side by side in order to facilitate comparison. Cf. *Phoc.* 3.3-5.

³² For example, in *Pyrrhus-Marius* Plutarch explores the themes of happiness through contentment and the problems of greed: *Pyrrh.* 9.6; 12.2-5; 13.1-2; *Mar.* 28.1-2; 46.3-5; cf. *Demetr.* 52.3-4.

present stock characters, but presents complex portraits of persons who, though generally worthy of praise or blame, exhibit both positive and negative traits. Plutarch also often presents a less complex character first, moving from an easier example to the more ambiguous one.³³ In this way, Plutarch reinforces moral norms while at the same time challenging the predominant moral assumptions of his culture, ultimately forcing his readers to reconsider their previous beliefs.³⁴

In addition to the pairing of lives, Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* are also structured by the inclusion of a proem at the beginning of each pairing as well as a discrete *synkrisis* following the conclusion of the second life. The proems are of interest not only regarding their formal nature, but also because they reveal the expectations and assumptions of Plutarch and his readers.³⁵ Furthermore, in these openings Plutarch expresses his motivations and purposes, with several proems containing programmatic statements on method.³⁶

Arguably the most important study on Plutarch's proems is that of P.A. Stadter, which presents a number of formal and functional observations regarding formal and informal proems.³⁷ Having identified and briefly commented on the extant pre-Plutarchean biography proems (beginning with Isocrates, *Evag.* 1-11),³⁸ Stadter observes that Plutarch, though he employs many of the standard features, uses them uniquely to create a distinctive and flexible form which does not conform to any established pattern.³⁹

What is particularly unique in Plutarch's proem is his appropriation of rhetorical techniques and themes into the biography proem. Although this is followed by other writers later (cf. Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.1-3), the integration of rhetorical

³³ Pelling, "Synkrisis in Plutarch's Lives," 357-59; C.B.R. Pelling, *Plutarch: Life of Antony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 23-26.

³⁴ Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 205. One example of this is the pairing of Coriolanus and Alcibiades. Although both are portrayed differently—Coriolanus is uneducated and so cannot control his passions (*Cor.* 1.2-5; 15.4-5), whereas Alcibiades is educated under Socrates and so is (or should be) controlled (6.1, 5)—they share the same fate: both die as exiles in a foreign country.

³⁵ Stadter, "The Proems of Plutarch's Lives," 275.

³⁶ For an important study on Plutarch's programmatic statements, see Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 13-51.

³⁷ Stadter, "The Proems of Plutarch's Lives," 276. Here Stadter states that there are thirteen formal openings with the remaining nine pairs incorporating an informal or integrated proem.

³⁸ This investigation is rather brief and only evaluates a small number of biography proems. Although it is understandable due to the lack of extant biographies, there are definitely more biographies than Stadter references (such as the philosophical biographies of the "peripatetic" school). Furthermore, Stadter does not provide a nuanced generic distinction between early biographic encomia and later, more fully developed biographies.

³⁹ Stadter, "The Proems of Plutarch's Lives," 283.

categories is original. For example, five of the formal prefaces in the *Parallel Lives* commence with a *chreia*.⁴⁰ Likewise, at other times Plutarch begins his narrative with a digression or a vivid short story to grab hold of the reader's attention.⁴¹ The inclusion of these rhetorical features so prominently within the proem highlights Plutarch's willingness to amalgamate biography with other literary forms.

Similarly, Plutarch's incorporation of themes found in history works⁴² further indicates the flexible generic nature of biography and its close relationship to other prose genres (history).⁴³ In light of these generic connections, Stadter claims, "The proems to the Lives do not follow the model of other biographical proems, or of historical proems, although there are similarities of topic. In their variety and techniques they often remind one, as might be expected, of the essays of the *Moralia*."⁴⁴ Stadter concludes that "the principal themes and techniques which Plutarch employs in the proems to the Parallel Lives, their relation to rhetorical theory, and some of the features ... distinguish them from those of other writers."⁴⁵

Arguably the most distinguishing feature of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* is the *synkrisis* appended to each pair of lives. In contrast to the formal prologues, which generally highlight the similarities between the two subjects, the *synkrisis* primarily bring out the differences through comparison.⁴⁶ The inclusion of *synkrisis* within biographical or historical works has a long history;⁴⁷ however, these comparisons are rarely formally structured, but rather occur sporadically throughout texts.⁴⁸ Such comparisons are also found in some of Plutarch's *Lives* and non-biographical works.⁴⁹

⁴⁰ Plutarch, *Per.* 1.1; *Dem.* 1.1; *Phoc.* 1.1; *Dio.* 1.1; *Pel.* 1.1. See also *Galb.* 1.1.

⁴¹ Plutarch, *Cim.* 1.1-2.3; *Ser.* 1.2-4.

⁴² Plutarch, *Thes.* 1.5; *Alex.* 1.1-2; *Galb.* 2.5.

⁴³ For a discussion of the parallels between Plutarch and historians (primarily Tacitus and Thucydides), see C.B.R. Pelling, "Plutarch and Thucydides," in *Plutarch and History: Eighteen Studies* (London: Classical Press of Wales, 2002), 117-41; Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 159-60; Stadter, "The Proems of Plutarch's *Lives*," 279 n.14, 289.

⁴⁴ Stadter, "The Proems of Plutarch's *Lives*," 275.

⁴⁵ Stadter, "The Proems of Plutarch's *Lives*," 275.

⁴⁶ H. Erbse, "Die Bedeutung der Synkrisis in den Parallelbiographien Plutarchs," *Hermes* 84 (1956): 378-424, esp. 401-402.

⁴⁷ Xenophon, *Ages.* 9.1-5; Isocrates, *Evag.* 37-39; *Panath.* 39-40. The inclusion of *synkrisis* is encouraged by a number of rhetoricians: Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1368A 19-26; Quintilian, *Inst.* 2.4.21; Menander Rhetor, 372.21-25; 376.31-377.9.

⁴⁸ On *synkrisis* in Nepos, see Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 94-95, 118-19.

⁴⁹ For a discussion of *synkrisis* inside the *Lives*, see Leo, *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie*, 151-52; Erbse, "Synkrisis," 378-424; D.A. Russell, "On Reading Plutarch's *Lives*," *GR* 13 (1966): 139-54,

In addition to internal comparisons, the *synkriseis* form an important structural component of the *Lives* by providing a clear ending to each pair.⁵⁰ This formal feature reinforces the connection between the two lives and indicates to the reader the importance of reading and interpreting these lives in tandem.⁵¹ Accordingly, the interpretation of each life is affected by its close reading with its partner: the first life sets a pattern which is then exploited and varied in the second.

Nevertheless, the function and content of the *synkrisis* is distinct. Although both the *synkrisis* and the lives concerned focus on the broad categories of military and political achievement, the material in the *Lives* is often re-appropriated by Plutarch in his moral evaluation.⁵² An action that was positively interpreted in the *Life* may be re-considered negatively in the *synkrisis*. For example, Pericles in his *Life* is praised by Plutarch for his building projects on the Acropolis (*Per.* 12.1-13.13); however, this same building programme is denigrated in the *synkrisis* when compared to the real work of a statesman, that of virtue (*Comp. Per. Fab.* 2.1).

Where the narrative allows for multiple different interpretations of an event, Plutarch may select only one for the *synkrisis* and exclude all others. Such an action occurs in *Comp. Sol. Pub.* 4.1 where Plutarch, in contradiction to *Sol.* 8.1—11.1, denies Solon any part in the war with Megara. This difference should not be considered ignorance or carelessness on behalf of Plutarch, but rather can be accounted for by the rhetorical demands of the moment which lead him to argue different sides of the same coin.⁵³ In light of these examples, it is clear that the *synkriseis* are not simply summaries of the preceding narratives, but something more.

Likewise, the role of the *synkrisis* is not to demonstrate the superiority of one character over another. Following Theon's programme for *synkrisis* outlined in his *Progymnasmata*—"Comparison should be of likes and where we are in doubt which

150-51; Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 249-51. Outside of the *Lives*, the most notable example of this is Plutarch's *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander*.

⁵⁰ Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 283.

⁵¹ This formal *synkrisis* is found at the end of all but four pairs: *Themistocles-Camillus*, *Pyrrhus-Marius*, *Phocion-Cato Minor*, and *Alexander-Caesar*. Although the reason why these pairs lack a *synkrisis* is unclear, it is likely that they have simply been lost. However, Pelling has noted that the ending of the second *Life* in these pairings is somewhat unique and should be taken into account for any decision. Pelling, "Synkrisis in Plutarch's Lives." Cf. Erbse, "Synkrisis," 398-99.

⁵² Russell (*Plutarch*, 114) remarks, "either character or circumstance may be the basis of a *synkrisis*; similar events affecting dissimilar persons and similar persons reacting to contrasting events alike provide a suitable field for the exercise . . ."

⁵³ Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 267.

should be preferred because of no evident superiority of one to the other” (112.30–113.2; Pantillon 78)⁵⁴—Plutarch carefully avoids making particular claims of superiority. Rather, he hedges his statements and allows his readers to come to their own conclusions.⁵⁵ This refraining from preference follows the rhetorical practices of his day and is an excellent example of Plutarch’s tendency to import rhetorical features and conventions into his biographical works.

The primary role of Plutarch’s *synkrisis*, therefore, is to invite the reader’s renewed attention to moral questions that have been raised in the *Lives* and to raise new and even more challenging ones. Rather than providing trite moral certitudes, Plutarch reframes moral and ethical questions in ways that challenge culturally assumed answers. In this way Plutarch provides a unique take on moral narratives. Duff summarises this: the “tendency to use *synkrisis* to provoke thought and raise questions is particularly and distinctly Plutarchan. He often uses *synkrisis* not to demonstrate the superiority of one side of the equation over the other, but rather to explore the issues raised as a whole.”⁵⁶

Having evaluated Plutarch’s works it is clear why a number of scholars, beginning with Zeigler, now highlight Plutarch’s creativity, claiming that the *Lives* are a product of his own reading and his own creative design.⁵⁷ No longer is Plutarch considered a mere compiler of biographical material, but is now rightfully considered a literary craftsman, who is able to shape his material in a way that facilitates his communicative purpose.

In evaluating Plutarch’s *Lives of the Caesars* and *Parallel Lives*, Duff seeks to emphasise the generic possibilities open to Plutarch and other biography and history writers. Rather than seeing these genre forms as rigidly monitored, Duff emphasises their fluid and interacting nature. According to Duff, both of Plutarch’s sets of *Lives*

⁵⁴ For further discussion on the rhetorical handbooks, *synkrisis*, and Luke, see Adams “Luke, Progymnasmata, and Greco-Roman Education.”

⁵⁵ This equality is epitomised in *Comp. Cim. Luc.* 3.6: “The result is that, if one looks at all sides of the argument, it is difficult to judge between them...” Some comparisons, however, are less subtle, cf. the negative framing of Theseus, *Comp. Thes. Rom.* 6.7.

⁵⁶ Duff, *Plutarch’s Lives*, 245. cf. also Swain, “Plutarchan Synkrisis,” 104–106.

⁵⁷ K. Ziegler, “Plutarch,” *RE* (1951), 911–28; C. Theander, *Plutarch und die Geschichte* (Lund: Gleerup, 1951), 2–66; Duff, *Plutarch’s Lives*, 8. For further support that Plutarch was a literary innovator, this time in regards to *Problems*, see G.W.M. Harrison, “Problem with the Genre of *Problems*: Plutarch’s Literary Innovations,” *CP* 95 (2000): 193–99.

are individual compositions that do not neatly fit within strict generic boundaries, even though they are readily identified as biographies.⁵⁸

Furthermore, Duff insists that “generic differences were open to construction by individual authors in order to distinguish their work from those of rivals.”⁵⁹ Plutarch’s blending of biography, moral philosophy and rhetoric for the structure of his *Parallel Lives* is an original adaptation of the flexible biography genre. Although still grounded within biography genre parameters, Plutarch’s selection of characters and inclusion of a formal comparison clearly differentiates his work from other contemporary biographies.⁶⁰ As we will see below, a similar liberty in genre blending is also evident in Philo’s biographies.

Philo

Philo (b. ca. 20 BC, d. ca. AD 50) was a Jewish native of Alexandria and reflects Jewish life and experience outside of Judea in his writings. Although little is known about his personal life, Philo’s large extant corpus provides a sizable window into his beliefs and thoughts.⁶¹

Philo came from a wealthy and highly influential family and belonged to the elite of Alexandrian Jewish society. His brother, Alexander Lysimachus, was *alabarch*⁶² and his nephew was the notorious Tiberius Julius Alexander, who, as an apostate, later became Governor of Egypt. Other details about his life are almost completely lacking.⁶³ The notable exception is an incident in AD 38 when a pogrom took place in the Jewish quarters of Alexandria, condoned and possibly even encouraged by the *praefectus* of Egypt, Flaccus. In response the Jews sent a delegation to Emperor Gaius Caligula in Rome, of which Philo was appointed leader.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ “If we insist on strict genre distinctions, it becomes impossible to classify this work [*Lives of the Caesars*] without a separate category for it.” Duff, *Plutarch’s Lives*, 19.

⁵⁹ Duff, *Plutarch’s Lives*, 17.

⁶⁰ J. Boulogne, *Plutarque: Un aristocrate grec sous l’occupation Romaine* (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1994), 21.

⁶¹ For a fuller discussion about Philo and his family, see P. Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete For His Time* (NovTSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 14-19.

⁶² Josephus, *Ant.* 18.259

⁶³ For example we do not know if Philo ever married or had children.

⁶⁴ A vivid description of the riots in Alexandria and the considerable dangers of the embassy are given by Philo in *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium*.

We do not know any specific details regarding Philo's education, although it is possible to present a reasonable outline of the education he may have received. Based on the observation that Philo's brother was a wealthy *alabarch*⁶⁵ and that Philo had leisure to write, it is likely that Philo's family could have afforded to see him through the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, which would have familiarised him with the most important Greek literary works.⁶⁶ That Philo mastered this material is apparent from his *De congressu eruditionis gratia*. It is certain that Philo obtained a tertiary education; however, in a rare autobiographical passage he states that after his secondary studies he was driven by the goads of philosophy not to tarry on other subjects too long, but to move on to the high study of "things divine and human and their causes."⁶⁷ His knowledge of Plato⁶⁸ and the Stoics strongly suggests that he may have continued his education in philosophy at a tertiary level.⁶⁹

In evaluating Philo's use of allegory, it is generally agreed that he learned this hermeneutical approach from Greek Stoic philosophers and their attempts to rescue ancient myths, particularly Homeric ones.⁷⁰ Runia, however, also rightly stresses the

⁶⁵ Agrippa asked Alexander to lend him 200,000 drachmas; although he refused, he did lend Cyprus five talents. Josephus, *Ant.* 18.159-60.

⁶⁶ Adams, "Luke, Progymnasmata, and Greco-Roman Education"; H.I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (trans. G.R. Lamb; London: Sheed and Ward, 1956) 142-216; S.F. Bonner, *Education in the Roman World: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) 34-75; cf. Morgan, *Literate Education*, 68-73.

As Philo was an "old man" in AD 38 (*Legatio ad Gaium*), it is clear that he would not have been affected by the Rescript of Claudius in AD 41 that prevented the Jews from forcing their way into the gymnasium. P.Lond. 1912.92-93, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 19.280-85.

⁶⁷ See *Congr.* 73-80, where a further distinction is also made between philosophy and wisdom. Similarly, Philo praises philosophy as "Sarah," the chief lady, and encourages his readers not to be contented or distracted by "Hagar," ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία or Sarah's handmaid. Cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *Lib. ed.* 7D.

⁶⁸ Philo, *Prob.* 13: κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Πλάτωνα.

⁶⁹ Siegert's claims that Philo was one of the "Sages of the Jewish community," that his "Greek education was vast, except in the exact sciences and critical philology," and that "his Greek style was impeccable," are likely accurate, if somewhat lacking nuance. F. Siegert, "Early Jewish Interpretation in a Hellenistic Style," in M. Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation: I/1 Antiquity* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1996), 130-97, 163-64.

⁷⁰ S. Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 19; Siegert "Early Jewish Interpretation in a Hellenistic Style," 165; T. Rajak, *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 241-42. The first recorded use of the term ἀλληγορία is attributed to the Stoic philosopher Cleanthes by Apollonius the Sophist in Λεξεις Ὀμηρικαι s.v. μῶλυ. Cf. ὑπόνοια.

For an interesting outline of the contemporary use and development of ἀλληγορία, particularly within rhetorical, epistolary, and literary contexts, see R.P.C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event: A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture* (London: SCM Press, 2002), 37-41.

role that allegory played in Jewish scriptural exposition prior to Philo.⁷¹ For example, the Alexandrian Jew Aristobulus, in his work dedicated to King Ptolemy (likely IV Philometer) attempts to provide a philosophical interpretation of narratives in the Pentateuch, and claims that Plato and all the Greek philosophers trace their ideas back to Moses.⁷² Although Aristobulus' interpretations are not fully allegorical, they act as a forerunner for the later Philo.⁷³

It is this allegorical approach that we find within a majority of Philo's works, including most of his biographies. However, in the biographies there is a distinct blend of both literal and allegorical interpretations,⁷⁴ and also times when Philo eschews allegory altogether.⁷⁵ Philo's overarching application of allegory is in his understanding of the Patriarchs of the Jewish people as "living laws," i.e., men who embodied the Law in their way of life even before it came into existence as the Law of Moses (*Abr.* 1.5). This perspective facilitates the creation of the lives of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph and Moses in which both allegorical and literal interpretations are applied.⁷⁶ In terms of literary form and style *De Iosepho* and *De Vita Mosis* are close to the method of the Hellenistic σύγγραμμα, revealing a lucid didactic structure, whereas *De Abrahamo*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob* are more akin to serial biographies.⁷⁷

The lives of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob form a unified, serial biography; however, prefixed to *De Abrahamo* is another, smaller, triad of lives (Enos, Enoch and Noah), each representing a different aspect of virtue (hope, repentance, and perfection, respectively; *Abr.* 7-47).⁷⁸ Following this discussion, Philo moves to his second triad,

⁷¹ David T. Runia, "Philo, Alexandrian and Jew," in *Exegesis and Philosophy: Studies on Philo of Alexandria* (Variorum, Aldershot, 1990), 1-18, 6-7.

⁷² Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.32.16; *Praep. ev.* 7.13.7; 7.14.1; 8.9.38-10.17; 13.11.2-12.15; Clement, *Strom.* 1.22.150; 1.148.1; 5.107.1-108.1; 6.3.32.

⁷³ Hanson, *Allegory and Event*, 41-43. Similar connections have also been made to the *Letter or Aristeeas*. Philo notes his debt to earlier allegorical exegetes in such places as *Spec.* II.159; *Mut.* 141; *Prob.* 82; *Contempl.* 28-29.

⁷⁴ *Abr.* 68, 88. Cf. *Praem.* 61-65. For Philo's rejection of extreme allegory, see *Migr.* 88-94. V. Nikiprowetzky, "L'exégèse de Philon d'Alexandrie," *RHPR* 53 (1973): 309-29.

⁷⁵ See, for example Philo's recounting of the Egyptian plagues, *Ios.* 5-22; *Mos.* 1.96-190

⁷⁶ The lives of Isaac and Jacob are no longer extant. Some scholars regard the *De vita Mosis* as a separate work at a more introductory level, cf. Sandmel, *Philo*, 47. Hanson (*Allegory and Event*, 50) claims that *De Vita Mosis* and *De Iosepho* are distinct and "clearly intended mainly for non-Jews."

⁷⁷ Runia, "Philo, Alexandrian and Jew," 6.

⁷⁸ G.E. Sterling, "Philo's *De Abrahamo*: Introduction," *SPhilo* 20 (2008): 129-31.

of which we only have *De Abrahamo*.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, that we have *De Abrahamo* is important as “it is an invaluable representative of the *bios* tradition in a Jewish setting.”⁸⁰

One of the most distinctive aspects of Philo’s *De Abrahamo* is his alternation between literal and allegorical readings.⁸¹ Although it is clear that Philo is drawing on the Genesis narrative for details on Abraham’s life, it is apparent that the original form of his material does not restrict him in his application or interpretation.⁸² Rather, Philo feels free to provide substantially different interpretations that are not found within his original text. It is this alternation between literal and allegorical readings, marked by transition formulae, which forms the main structure of Philo’s work.⁸³ Narrative examples are first explained in literal terms, such as Abraham as a wise person whom God loved, then secondly in allegorical terms, such as Abraham’s virtuous and God-seeking soul.⁸⁴

This alternation in allegory and literal interpretations is distinctive within the biography genre. Philo is still quite content to label his work *bios* (*Abr.* 276), however, even though a number of typical features are absent. Furthermore, it is apparent that the narrative of *De Abrahamo* itself is not primarily focused on the person, but rather is concerned to present a systematic philosophical view of the lives in Genesis.⁸⁵ Accordingly, each aspect of Abraham’s life as recorded by Philo is used to illustrate a particular conceptual point.⁸⁶ This emphasis on theological and philosophical systems, to the detriment of a character’s literal portrayal, marks a

⁷⁹ Unfortunately *Isaac* and *Jacob* have been lost. Borgen (*Philo of Alexandria*, 71) suggests that *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, as well as *De Iosepho*, could be considered a collected biography on virtuous persons.

⁸⁰ Sterling, “Philo’s *De Abrahamo*,” 130. Feldman claims that Philo’s biographies were “the first Jewish biographies.” Interestingly, Feldman overlooks the gospels (biographies written by Jews), by stating that after Philo and Josephus’ autobiography “we do not find biographies written by Jews until modern times.” L.H. Feldman, *Philo’s Portrayal of Moses in the Context of Ancient Judaism* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 23.

⁸¹ D.T. Runia, “The Place of *De Abrahamo* in Philo’s Œuvre,” *SPhilo* 20 (2008): 133-50, 139-40.

⁸² Runia is certainly correct in noting that the amount of direct reference to scripture is remarkably limited. Runia, “The Place of *De Abrahamo*,” 138-39.

⁸³ Major transition breaks include Philo, *Abr.* 47, 48, 60, 68, 89, 99, 107, 119, 133, 147, 167, 200, 208, 217, 225, 236, 255, 262. These are often marked with μέν, μὲν οὖν, or μέντοι.

⁸⁴ Runia, “The Place of *De Abrahamo*,” 140.

⁸⁵ Although this is accurate, Philo does emphasise the roles that Abraham filled, although always in terms of his functioning as an embodied law. Abraham as Sage: *Abr.* 202; *Sob.* 55-57; Prophet: *Somn.* 1.193-95; King: *Abr.* 261; *Mut.* 152; *Virt.* 216. For a further discussion, see S. Sandmel, *Philo’s Place in Judaism: A Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature* (New York: Ktav, 1971), 168-85.

⁸⁶ Runia, “The Place of *De Abrahamo*,” 140. The events of Abraham’s life do not follow a strict chronological order, but are organized topically.

notable shift from other Hellenistic biographies, even those whose subjects are philosophers.⁸⁷

In addition to these distinctive features it is important to note again that *De Abrahamo* is not an individual life, but was originally part of a triad of lives that included Isaac and Jacob. Although it is apparent that Philo had much respect for the patriarchs, the retelling of their lives was for the expressed purpose of examining the law (*Abr.* 1.3). Accordingly, though Philo chose to investigate the original law through biography, his primary focus was to understand these characters in terms of the Law of Moses.⁸⁸ As a result, this blending of collected biography and theology exhibits a unique principle of organisation that incorporates features of collected biographies, but also arranges the material in a systematic fashion in order to develop and elucidate a theological perspective.

Philo's next extant biography, *De Iosepho*, is the least discussed; however, its inclusion within this study is warranted. Claiming to continue the above series, Philo evaluates the life of Joseph, whom he presents as the ideal statesman (*Ios.* 2). However, it is apparent that *De Iosepho* does not fit into the framework or principle of organisation established in *De Abrahamo*, as a political life cannot in itself produce a life of excellence that comes with learning, nature, and practice.⁸⁹ Rather, the argument in *De Iosepho* is that the political life threatens the life of excellence (*Ios.* 9, 36), although with proper training one can resist its influences (*Ios.* 40-53, esp. 46-48).

Once again there is a blending of allegory and literal narrative; however, it is much less frequent than in *De Abrahamo*. In *De Iosepho* there are three allegorical sections (*Ios.* 28-36, 58-79, 125-56), which are inserted into the narrative after the

⁸⁷ Priessnig labelled *De Abrahamo* a "theological biography". A. Priessnig, "Die literarische Form der Patriarchenbiographien des Philon von Alexandrien," *MGWJ* 7 (1929): 143-55. Sandmel claims that this biography is of "Hellenistic form"; however, he does not further delineate this description. Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism*, 105-106 n.14.

⁸⁸ Termini has proposed that the entire work of *De Abrahamo* is structured on piety and humanity; the division of the two Mosaic tablets in *De decalogo*. C. Termini, "The Historical Part of the Pentateuch according to Philo of Alexandria: Biography, Genealogy, and the Philosophical Meaning of the Patriarchal Lives," in N. Calduch-Benages and J. Liesen (eds.), *History and Identity: How Israel's Later Authors Viewed Its Earlier History* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 265-295, 285. The emphasis on the law is also seen through the connections between *De Abrahamo* and *De opificio* expressed by Philo (*Abr.* 2, 13).

⁸⁹ J.M. Bassler, "Philo on Joseph: The Basic Coherence of *De Iosepho* and *De Somniis II*," *JSJ* 16 (1985): 240-55, 244.

introduction of a potential problem and before its resolution, in order to expound on the problem that had just been raised.⁹⁰ These sections create tension within the work in which the political world is held up for comparison with Jewish piety.⁹¹ Ultimately, although Philo links *De Iosepho* with his patriarch series, it is clear that *De Iosepho* is a distinct work. Furthermore, while *De Iosepho* does have a number of the standard biographical features, Philo's structure and use of allegory here are, once again, distinctive compared to other Greco-Roman biographies. Compared to his other biographies, Philo's use of allegory in *De Iosepho* is less conspicuous than in *De Abrahamo*, while he makes greater use of rhetorical elements.

Philo's other extant biography, *De Vita Mosis*, is by far his best known and most studied.⁹² Not attached to his previous biographies, *De Vita Mosis* is a two-part, individual biography. Philo claims that the purpose for writing this *bios* is to make the story of Moses, the greatest and most perfect of men, known (1.1; cf. *Virt.* 52).⁹³

The structuring of *De Vita Mosis* is distinctive for a biography in that it presents its character from a number of different perspectives. In the first part (*Mos.* 1), Philo presents Moses as a king, and not just any king, but as a philosopher-king in the Platonic sense.⁹⁴ In addition to this, it appears that Philo associates Moses' kingship with the Stoic conception of "proper" kingship: one who was a νόμος ἔμψυχός τε καὶ λογικὸς "law incarnate and spoken" (*Mos.* 1.162; cf. 2.4). In the second book, Philo

⁹⁰ There appears to be a development through the three allegorical sections, beginning with a strong emphasis on the political which gives way to a comparison between reason and irrationality. Bassler, "Philo on Joseph," 247-48.

⁹¹ F. Frazier, "Les Visages de Joseph dans le *De Iosepho*," *SPhilo* 14 (2002): 1-30.

⁹² B. Botte, "La vie de Moïse par Philon," *CS* 8 (1954): 173-80.

⁹³ For a parallel in relationship between *De Vita Mosis* and *De virtutibus* on the one hand, and Luke and Acts on the other, see E.R. Goodenough, "Philo's Exposition of the Law and His *De Vita Mosis*," *HTR* 26 (1933): 109-25, 110.

A number of scholars have attempted to interpret *De Vita Mosis* in terms of different genres. For example, encomium: P.L. Shuler, "Philo's Moses and Matthew's Jesus: A Comparative Study in Ancient Literature," *SPhilo* 2 (1990): 86-103, followed by Feldman, *Philo's Portrayal of Moses*, 18-19; composite eulogy (narrative eulogy and rhetorical panegyric): Priessnig, "Die literarische Form;" aretalogy: M. Hadas and M. Smith, *Heroes and Gods: Spiritual Biographies in Antiquity* (New York: Harper, 1965), 129-60; biography/philosophical treatise (books 1 and 2, respectively), A.C. Geljon, *Philonian Exegesis in Gregory of Nyssa's De Vita Mosis* (BJS 333; Providence, RI: Brown Judaic Studies, 2002), 27, 31. Nevertheless, a majority of scholars define *De Vita Mosis* in terms of *bios*.

⁹⁴ Plato, *Resp.* 473C-E. Plato claims that it is only through this combination that both a nation and the world will attain peace. Cf. *Mos.* 2.44 in which the other nations would adopt Mosaic Law.

re-evaluates Moses' life in light of three other offices: lawgiver, high priest, and prophet (*Mos.* 2.3, 292).⁹⁵

The representations of Moses throughout the work are flattering and present Moses as the pinnacle of human virtue and achievement.⁹⁶ However, Philo makes it clear that, while Moses is superior to all people, he is not a god.⁹⁷ Similarly, Philo also attempts to distinguish Moses from other *thaumaturges* and magicians that might have become literary parallels.⁹⁸ The most notable example of this is Philo's denouncement of Balaam, who is clearly associated with magical arts (1.276, 283, 285).⁹⁹ In this episode, Balaam is shown to lack noble motives, and feigns divine dreams and visions in pursuit of personal gain (1.266, 286). Similarly, Balaam's abilities are brought into question when his animal has a divine vision and he, ironically for a seer, sees nothing.¹⁰⁰ The pairing of praise and censure categories (applied to Moses and Balaam, respectively) for the evaluation of character displays a blending of biography, encomium, and rhetorical features.¹⁰¹ In this way, Philo

⁹⁵ Interestingly, Feldman (*Philo's Portrayal of Moses*, 22-23) continues to propagate the anachronistic, dipartite understanding of biography when he claims that Philo's *De Vita Mosis* I is basically "Plutarchian" in style, while *De Vita Mosis* II is "Suetonian". C. Hywel, "Moses as Philosopher-Sage in Philo," in Graupner, Axel and Wolter, Michael (eds.), *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions* (BZAW 372; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 151-167.

⁹⁶ For example, regarding Moses' education, Philo claims that Moses mastered every culture's lore and literature (1.23-24). Regarding Moses' mind, Philo states, "whether it was human or divine or a mixture of both, so utterly unlike was it to the majority, soaring about them and exalted to a grander height" (1.27, LCL). Philo also describes Moses as "the best of all lawgivers in all countries" (2.12) and a "prophet of the highest quality" (2.188). Cf. *Opif.* 8.

⁹⁷ For a thorough discussion of this, see I.W. Scott, "Is Philo's Moses a Divine Man?," *SPhilo* 14 (2002): 87-111.

⁹⁸ Philo, *Hypoth.* 8.6.2; Cf. Josephus, *C. Ap.* 2.145; Apuleius, *Apol.* 90; Origen, *Cels.* 5.41, cf. 1.23, 45; 3.5; Strabo, *Geog.* 16.2.43; Lucian, *Gout* 173. For positive references to Moses in Greco-Roman literature, see L.H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," *JQR* 82 (1992): 285-328, 286-88.

⁹⁹ Though the reference is clear, Philo does not mention Balaam by name, but tangentially through various titles. See also Moses' interaction with Korah, 2.275-87. Feldman, *Philo's Portrayal of Moses*, 188-96; G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Mosè e Balaam, *Propheteia* e *Mantiké*. Modalità et segni della rivelazione nel *De Vita Mosis*," in A.M. Mazzanti and F. Calabi (eds.), *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII Convegno di studi del Gruppo italiano di ricerca su Origene e la tradizione alessandrina (Bologna 29-30 settembre 2003)* (BdA 2; Villa Verucchio, Pazzini, 2004), 33-74.

¹⁰⁰ H. Remus, "Moses and the Thaumaturges: Philo's *De Vita Mosis* as a Rescue Operation," *LTP* 62 (1996): 665-80, 671-72.

¹⁰¹ Remus, "Moses and the Thaumaturges," 671. See Philo, *Mos.* 1.154; cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1.3.3-6 (1358B-1359A), 1.9.1 (1366A), 1.9.32-33 (1367B); Cicero, *Inv.* 2.59.177-78; *Rhet. Her.* 3.6.11-7.15; Plato, *Gorg.* 483B; Quintilian, *Inst.* 3.7.

makes use of his authorial freedom to adapt biography by means of other available genres in order to construct his desired portrait.¹⁰²

In comparison to Philo's other biographies, the most notable difference in *De Vita Mosis* is that there is only one attempt at allegory (1.65-70).¹⁰³ Furthermore, Philo's discussion of the Burning Bush does not follow his usual allegorical form as the bush is not interpreted in any spiritual or theological way. Rather, the bush is presented as a representation of the nation's condition at the time (*Mos.* 1.67).¹⁰⁴ This striking difference distinguishes *De Vita Mosis* from Philo's other biographies.

Furthermore, although Philo's use of allegory is distinctive to other Greco-Roman biographies, in and of itself, this is not distinguishing enough to characterise these works as a unique form of biography. Similarly, Philo's multiple representations of his protagonist in *De Vita Mosis* is also unique, though not genre-breaking. However, it is these features in conjunction with Philo's blending of Greek philosophical thought with Jewish culture and his incorporation of rhetorical and encomiastic features that lead the modern reader to recognise his originality.¹⁰⁵

Overall, Philo's pairing of praise and censure categories for the evaluation of different characters displays a blending of biography, encomium, philosophy and rhetoric genre features.¹⁰⁶ In this way, Philo makes use of his authorial freedom to adapt biography and incorporate other genre features in order to construct his desired portrait and communicate his message.¹⁰⁷ In evaluating his biography corpus, it is apparent that Philo's works are diverse. Not only did Philo feel free to blend other generic features into his biographies, he also felt free to create a variety of biography types throughout his career in order to meet the specific needs addressed in his various works.

¹⁰² Shuler, "Philo's Moses and Matthew's Jesus," 102-103. Contra Siegert, "Philo is not an innovator." Siegert "Early Jewish Interpretation in a Hellenistic Style," 163.

¹⁰³ Feldman, *Philo's Portrayal of Moses*, 23.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Philo, *Fug.* 161-63.

¹⁰⁵ Despite this originality, I disagree with Sterling's claim that Philo understood *De Vita Mosis* to be *sui generis*. Sterling, "Philo's *De Abrahamo*," 130.

¹⁰⁶ Remus, "Moses and the Thaumaturges," 671. See Philo, *Mos.* 1.154; cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1.3.3-6 (1358B-1359A), 1.9.1 (1366A), 1.9.32-33 (1367B); Cicero, *Inv.* 2.59.177-78; *Rhet. Her.* 3.6.11-7.15; Plato, *Gorg.* 483B; Quintilian, *Inst.* 3.7.

¹⁰⁷ Shuler, "Philo's Moses and Matthew's Jesus," 102-103; Feldman, *Philo's Portrayal of Moses*, 23. Contra Siegert, "Early Jewish Interpretation in a Hellenistic Style," 163.

Conclusion

It is clear from the evaluation of Plutarch's and Philo's biographies that the biography genre form was quite fluid and invited adaptation in the first century AD. Not only did these contemporaries of Luke adapt the flexible biography mould, they continually tailored it throughout their careers to meet the needs of the moment. As a result, although Plutarch's and Philo's works are recognised as biographies, they represent a large spectrum within this genre and blur the boundaries between biography, history, rhetoric, and philosophical prose.

Furthermore, each of these authors presents a unique form of collected biographies (*Lives of the Caesars*, *Parallel Lives*, and Philo's triad of *De Abrahamo*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*). A similar sense of ingenuity can be witnessed in the organisational principles of Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*,¹⁰⁸ Nepos' *De Viris Illustribus*,¹⁰⁹ and other contemporary collected biographies.¹¹⁰ All of these works, in their time, pushed the boundaries of biography and interacted with other Greek prose genres in novel ways.¹¹¹ Accordingly, it is apparent that in the first century AD there was an understanding among prose writers that generic innovation and adaptation was an acceptable practice and that the biography genre was particularly capable of being adapted.

¹⁰⁸ Townend, "Suetonius and His Influences," 80-81.

¹⁰⁹ Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos*, 78-93. Varro's *Imagines* may have been the Latin model/influence for Nepos.

¹¹⁰ Feldman (*Philo's Portrayal of Moses*, 23) suggests that the first half of Josephus' *Antiquities* "contains many quasi-biographies of biblical personalities within a historical framework."

¹¹¹ Feldman (*Philo's Portrayal of Moses*, 261) suggests that *Moses* is a combination of "factual history" and "biography".

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